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TO V. R. G. W.

Preface

THE EAST INDIA COMPANY, child of the Elizabethan era, was born during one of the most interesting periods in all history. Sea routes were being charted to far corners of the hemisphere. New lands, strange races, curious creeds, beliefs, manners, customs, and modes of life were being encountered everywhere. The terrestrial globe was disclosing mysteries so amazing, so exotic, so baffling as to seem incredible.

Out of this budding interest in remote countries grew the slender commercial chain that was the first permanent link between Europe and the vast area called the Indies. It was welded together by three great powers: the Portuguese, the Dutch, and the English. Their ships, seeking the "wealth of Inde," brought back to Europe priceless treasures of the Far East.

A conspicuous part in this acquisition of wealth was played by London merchants. It was under the patronage of Queen Elizabeth that what subsequently became the largest trading company known to history was founded. From a small group of men who sought to compete with Holland for the coveted Javanese pepper, which served in those days as a medium of exchange like gold, the Company expanded until it wielded tremendous power.

Forced out of Java, Sumatra, and the Spiceries by the hostility of Dutch traders, the East India Company then concentrated its activities along the west coast and later along the southeastern shore of India.

The magic land in which the Company slowly, laboriously, and in the face of almost constant obstacles, first established trading posts, or "factories," was at the apex of the Mogul era. The powerful Emperors, Akbar, Jahangir, and Shah Jehan ruled autocratically from their capitals at Delhi and Agra. This bulwark of Moslem

imperialism proved difficult to penetrate, however, and the apathy and indifference to commerce of the Moguls themselves was an endless source of surprise and chagrin to English traders.

It was not until internal religious wars weakened the hold of Mogul rulers in India that British infiltration became deep-rooted and permanent. The chaos of war redounded to the benefit of the East India Company, whose political far-sightedness in backing native rulers proved no less astounding than its financial acumen. From 1600 to 1858, the life span of the Company, there occurred its dramatic metamorphosis from a small commercial group sponsored by Queen Elizabeth into a cumbersome organization that controlled enormous revenues, vast properties, armed forces, innumerable ships and countless trading posts.

What the East India Company accomplished, however, was not achieved without vicissitudes and constant obstacles. It was harassed by wars, both foreign and internal. Dutch, Portuguese and French traders sought at all times to force English competitors out of the Far East. Pirates marauded East Indiamen, looting the cargoes and torturing and killing the crews. The home office was faced by apathy, then opposition, and finally violent protest against "the wrongs of a monopoly." And yet, despite the hazards that blocked its progress, the Company prospered.

Chartered in 1600, the East India Company survived the first half century only after a series of disheartening experiences. This was a time of slow, painful growth, a time in which the Company, forced by Dutch antipathy to abandon its first posts in the Spiceries, gained a precarious foothold in India. By 1700, however, its trading posts were established up and down both sides of the India coast, at isolated places on the Malay Peninsula, and on many of the remote islands lying south and east. It was in these decades that the foundations of the Company were firmly established.

The eighteenth century saw fruition: trading posts in the Far East became the nuclei of permanent settlements—colonies that became ultimately Calcutta, Bombay, Madras. This was the time of the Company's major triumphs, its military victories, its invaluable treaties with local potentates, its first acquisition of rich revenue-produc-

ing properties. It was also the time of menacing opposition on the part of the British public.

By the opening of the nineteenth century the East India Company was beginning to show signs of over-expansion and unwieldiness. Political ramifications, both at home and abroad, were constantly recurring. With properties of the London merchants now grown to herculean proportions, undercurrents of dissension and unrest were more apparent. The Crown, most portentous of all, was challenging the legal and moral rights of the Company. Ostensibly only merchants, they were conducting their business with the aid of soldiers, guns, forts, and treaties which gave them almost unlimited powers over native rulers.

The Indian Mutiny, with its concomitant loss of life and property, proved to the British public that the Company had outgrown its original purpose and was in conflict with forces which the Crown alone had adequate means to control.

In 1858 the East India Company died of its own weight. Its properties, now so enormous as to require armies to garrison and protect its holdings, passed by the Government of India Act to the Crown. Queen Victoria assumed control of the Company chartered by Queen Elizabeth centuries before.

Today India and her problems are assuming widespread importance. A broader understanding of them comes from a more intimate knowledge of the great Company which was a forebear of British India.

The East India Company is based primarily on source material housed in the British Museum and Foreign Office in London. It includes the correspondence and reports of the officers and clerks of the Company in the London Office, and the letters, diaries, and records of the merchants and officials in the Far East. In addition to these invaluable records, every available book, both old and modern, pertaining to the Company was also used.

To those who have so generously assisted in the preparation of this volume I am deeply obligated. For permission to inspect their

priceless collection of original manuscripts, including letters, reports, charters, and other data pertaining to the East India Company, I am profoundly grateful to the staff of the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum and India Office in London, where most of the material used in this volume was assembled. A similar debt of gratitude is due Sir William Foster, of London, who graciously granted permission to use excerpts from the many books he has written about, and the early reports he has compiled and edited relating to, the East India Company, which have been constantly quoted in the present volume. I am also obligated to Dr. William Ashworth, of Santa Barbara, who read the manuscript and made valuable suggestions, and to Harvey Taylor, of Hollywood, California, for his constant advice and assistance.

MARGUERITE WILBUR

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CHAPTER I

Old London

DOWN THROUGH the heart of London and into the North Sea flows a placid stream, called by the Romans the Tamesis, but now known as the river Thames. For centuries this slender artery has been the gateway into England. For centuries it has seen English history in the making. Time and again on its banks have been enacted momentous events that have changed history. But the Thames rolls quietly on; it has remained omnipotent while alien hordes have invaded, plundered, and ravaged the lands beyond its banks; while foreign races have conquered the adjoining country, then departed as new invaders gained supremacy in Old England; while kings, queens, and dictators have been crowned, uncrowned, and banished. Through all this the Thames has remained unchanged, patiently carrying up and down its serene, unruffled waters the men who have made English history.

In the remote past the Thames was the haunt of a primitive nomadic race, a tribe whose central stronghold stood on the site of old London. The first event of major historic significance in England occurred when the Roman legions, led by Julius Caesar, thronged up its channel in the first century, captured the old capital created by Cassivellaunus, and erected on its foundation a staunch walled city which they called Londinium. For the next five centuries Roman-controlled London became the center of art, commerce, and government in England.

After the Romans had ruled for 470 winters in this city on the Thames, where "they controlled all the treasures that were in Britain, and hid some of them in the earth, that no man might afterwards find them," the Roman sway gave way before the vicious raids of Nordic invaders as hordes of Saxons and Danes swept over the

land. The Nordic era in England was followed by a period of French rule, when William the Conqueror crossed the Channel and, on Christmas Day in the year 1066, was crowned King of England in the chapel of Westminster Abbey. These new Norman kings brought England less than a century of unified and tranquil rule, for by the middle of the thirteenth century their power had definitely ended.

Although England had had intercourse with Europe since the days of the Romans, yet it was not until the successors of the Normans, the Plantagenets, whose regime lasted for three centuries, came to the English throne that definite contact was established for the first time between England and the Near East. This was the age of chivalry, the age of knights and legends; the age when zealous pilgrims traveled over the thorny *Via Dolorosa* into the Near East to defend the Christian faith. Yet long before the Crusades had spent their full force, out in the Holy Land the flower of English manhood had perished. This era of heroic feats, of chivalric deeds, of religious fervor, culminated in the influx into England of large bands of friars representing various monastic orders. Soon the London of their day became primarily a center of churches, monasteries, and religious orders that absorbed, sapped, and dominated the life of the city. With the increase of their powers not only did their religious strength assume amazing proportions, but more than half of London became the physical property of these brotherhoods.

The crusades and the invasion of England by these bands of priests mark the birth of international interests. Returning crusaders, friars from far lands, brought into England an intimate knowledge of countries bordering the Mediterranean, the Baltic, and the Adriatic, all lands that had long been the crossroads between Europe and Asia. By personal contact out in Greece, the Aegean Islands, and even in Palestine, crusading Christians had come to know men who had traveled into the Far East—into India, the Spice Islands, and China. Here, too, they had learned how commerce with these countries had brought wealth and power to the Near East. They had seen as well the wealth and power of Constantinople, the leading commercial center of the Middle Ages. They had heard amazing tales, furthermore, of great cities like Alexandria, Venice, Genoa, to whose

ports Asiatic treasure was brought first by camel caravan over deserts, plains, and mountains, then by ship up the Oxus, Euphrates, and Red Sea for redistribution throughout Europe. They saw how the merchants of those days had grown fabulously rich from Far Eastern commerce; how in Venice they had built the elaborately frescoed palaces paved with rich mosaics that still dot the curving waterways of the Grand Canal; how, up on the hills above Genoa, they had erected the great granite edifices that have endured to the present.

In 1453, traffic between these prosperous ports and the Far East received its death-knell when Constantinople fell before the assaults of the red-fezzed Turks. Oriental trade was immediately paralyzed; almost overnight this opulent city on the Bosphorus changed from a commercial to a religious center consecrated to Mohammed. Where marts displaying Eastern wares had once stood, minarets now arose where the devout, bending low to the East five times daily, intoned their age-old call, "God is Allah; there is no God but Allah."

A Mohammedan wall had now arisen between the Far East and Europe. With the customary route for transporting merchandise by waterway and caravan thus barred by victorious infidels, what mariners now sought was a direct route to the Orient. Aware of this vital need, a penniless Genoese sailor laid plans to sail west hoping to find, by crossing the Atlantic, a direct route to China. His goal was not achieved, for the route to China Columbus had hoped to discover proved to be blocked by an immense body of land—the Americas.

Still the search continued. Barely five years after Columbus's virgin voyage, a second visionary mariner, Vasco da Gama, a Portuguese sailor, rounded the Cape of Good Hope and skirted the Malabar coast, establishing a new and direct sea route to India. Thus by 1500, Columbus by blazing a route west and Da Gama by discovering a trail around the Cape, had virtually revolutionized geography.

2 Soon mariners were tracing strange new lands on maps depicting the terrestrial globe. They were showing new routes mapped by Columbus across the Atlantic, by Da Gama to India, by Cabot to Japan, by Pinzon to Brazil, by Magellan to the Strait, by Balboa to the Isthmus, by Cortés and his cohorts into Mexico. Though British mariners long before the days of Columbus had pushed far up into

the North Atlantic, past Scandinavia, past Russia, and up into ice-bound wastes in search of new trade routes to the Spice Islands, yet wherever they searched, the North Atlantic failed to unlock a direct sea passage. From these new discoveries geographers of that day had now generally agreed that the only feasible route to the Far East lay southeast along the trail of the Spanish and Portuguese mainland around the tip of Africa. ¶

The geographical isolation of England has had a definite bearing on its history. Lashed on all four sides by whipping seas, contact with other lands was established solely by water, through the eternally rough course of the English Channel, or over the stormy wastes of the North Atlantic. This salient fact bred men inured to the sea, courageous seamen of brawn and muscle.

The fire of adventure bred in the bones of British mariners reared in sea-locked England broke out in full force after the discovery by Columbus of the Americas. Here was inspiration to stir the most phlegmatic sailor, adventure to be had for the asking. Day after day in alehouses and taverns men gossiped long and late over the mysteries of a universe conceded to be no longer flat, but round; a universe where ships, as Magellan had conclusively proved, could actually sail entirely around this strange sphere, and return safely to the familiar dockyards of England.

Alehouse gossip lent credence to the belief that mariners, bold enough to venture into these new realms, would reap their reward in untold riches and vast treasure. In England it was also known that Spain, powerful and wealthy at this era, for some time had been quietly and secretly colonizing and plundering the Americas. Rumors of Spanish ships returning home to Cadiz, Barcelona, and Seville, from the Isthmus, Mexico, Peru, and the Philippines, weighed down with pure gold, silver, jewels, and treasure from these lands, also drifted over into England. One tale that invariably aroused widespread interest was the legend that a city paved with gold called Quivira had been discovered near Mexico.

The first mariners to set sail for foreign shores were the pirates, long conceded to be the master-adventurers of that period. With no flag, no law, and no quarter as their motto, they harassed, marauded,

and terrorized the new Spanish settlements from Peru to Baja California. Several of these blue-blooded pirates even retired with their profits to England, where they unobtrusively assumed the serene role of respectable country gentlemen. When they could be induced to talk about their early adventures, from their highly colored tales was derived a large amount of miscellaneous information about the strange lands called the Americas, controlled so secretly by Spain.

From these lands, however, England was effectually barred by papal edict. In the bull of Alexander VI issued in 1493, based on the right of Catholic nations to control lands their mariners had discovered, the New World and the undiscovered areas west of it were divided between the Catholic lands of Spain and Portugal. This papal decree was respected in England before the extent and size of the New World became generally known, especially by Catholic rulers who wished not only to retain the pope's favor, but also to avoid international difficulties.

Yet these lands were far too vast for Spain and Portugal to protect, colonize, and control. Finally, during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, who as a Protestant did not recognize papal authority, the exclusive right of these Catholic powers to the New World and the Far East was challenged. Then as interest in commercial activities grew and English merchants began to lay plans to trade in these remote, Catholic-controlled lands, companies were formed to bring goods direct from the Near East to England.

A century before the Elizabethan era, the policy of the Tudors was to promote trade when such commerce did not encroach on the activities of Spain and Portugal. The system devised at this time was to grant monopolies to private companies. One of the first companies chartered in England under this arrangement was a group known as the Merchant Adventurers who, in 1505, procured from the English Crown the exclusive right to carry on trade in woolens in the Near East. Protected by crown monopoly, the Merchant Adventurers carried woolens and hides to Sicily, Cypress, Tripoli, and other Mediterranean ports, returning with cargoes of silks, cottons, carpets, and spices to England.

Toward the middle of the sixteenth century, another group, the Russian Company, whose membership was derived largely from the English nobility, was organized under royal charter. The Russian Company traded primarily in raw silks brought from Persia into Russia, and at Near Eastern ports English traders became familiar with products from the Near East and Far East that were brought into Persia by merchants from neighboring islands and the west coast of India.

Thus some knowledge of Far Eastern trade had already reached England when the epochal voyage of Francis Drake, the first Englishman to circumnavigate the globe, took place. Drake, during an absence of three years, had touched not only at the Americas, but also at ports of the South Seas and even Java. He returned in the fall of 1580 to Plymouth and went ashore carrying valuable papers captured on the Portuguese galleon, *Great St. Philip*, "being very richly fraught with gold, silver, pearls, and precious stones." Unfortunately, the buccaneer's ostentatious display started rumors in puritanical circles that his wealth had not been acquired through honest channels. And so for five months Queen Elizabeth, influenced by the tales, refused audience to the great English adventurer. Finally relenting, she visited his ship, the *Golden Hinde*, tied up at the Deptford docks, and knighted him on the decks of his own veteran vessel.

Queen Elizabeth's motives in honoring Sir Francis are open to conjecture, for oddly enough this belated recognition of his services to English navigation coincided with the depletion of her own national treasury. Notwithstanding, the newly knighted hero, whose generous heart was touched by the nation's poverty, now began moving load after load of piratical loot in the form of silver and gold bars valued at some £50,000 to London Tower, where they were placed in the vast vault under the jewel house and held in reserve in the event of war between Spain and England. Drake's voyage, however, had aroused the ill will of Spain. Within a short time serious charges were brought by the Spanish ambassador residing at Elizabeth's court against the illegal acquisition of the

buccaneer's wealth, and his violation, by sailing through Spanish waters, of the papal bull.

In addition to precipitating political complications, Drake's return to England was the signal for wild enthusiasm in commercial circles. To merchants and subscribers who had advanced funds to finance his expedition, Drake returned a profit of fifty to one in treasure; a return far exceeding even their most sanguine expectations. Such a profit clearly demonstrated the latent possibilities of voyages financed by private subscription and aroused public interest in future ventures.

While Drake was raiding the Spanish Main, a young English Jesuit, Thomas Stevens, was already on his way out to India. Drake's role was that of pirate-explorer; Father Thomas, on the contrary, had been sent out under the religious banner of Francisco Xavier to Goa, the stronghold of the Franciscan and Jesuit orders on the west coast of India. Upon reaching the great Portuguese center on November 10, 1579, Father Thomas wrote home to his father, a rich London merchant, a full account of his experiences.

Except for the ancient records of Marco Polo and Sir John Mandeville, before Father Thomas's day no authentic accounts about India had reached England. For this reason Stevens's letter, which his father showed to his London friends, aroused widespread interest in English mercantile circles. Soon the Eastland Company was formed and licensed to trade in the Baltic; then the Levant Company, with headquarters at Aleppo, was chartered to trade in Northern India. Thus, by the last two decades of the sixteenth century, the commercial goal had been moved from the Near East to the Far East.

In 1583, four London merchants, John Newberry, Ralph Fitch, William Leeds, and James Story, set sail on the *Tyger* for Tripoli, en route to India. After many stirring adventures Agra, the capital of the reigning monarch Akbar, was reached and a letter presented to him from Queen Elizabeth. Akbar, friend of Christians, entertained the London travelers with all the magnificence his court could command. Of this visit at Agra, Ralph Fitch wrote home at

considerable length, describing in detail a city larger and far richer than his own London, a city whose luxurious tastes were indicated by the royal stables housing 10,000 elephants, 30,000 horses, 1,400 tame deer, and many wild tigers. Other imperial treasures displayed at the royal court which Fitch admired were vast quantities of silk cloth embroidered in gold and silver and precious stones, especially diamonds and rubies. Fitch was also impressed by the market at Agra, which he describes as one of the most extensive of all India, and the rendezvous for Persian merchants dealing in Oriental products. This group of travelers whose records and experiences indicated the richness of Oriental India have been termed the progenitors of the East India Company.

Upon their return to England, however, the pressure of political events overshadowed for a time national interest in Akbar's Indian treasure. In court circles papal rights and bulls were the topic of heated discussion, especially the point raised by Spain regarding England's right to invade her own sacred domains in the Far East. To the protests voiced by papal Rome regarding this infringement of Spanish rights, Protestant Elizabeth sent this open challenge: "It is as lawful for my subjects to do this as the Spanish, since the sea and air are common to all men."

Elizabeth's defiant attitude toward Spain was strengthened by the arrival at Plymouth, after a voyage around the world, of Thomas Cavendish, who, like Drake, had successfully sailed over seas consecrated by papal dictate to Catholic nations. Upon his return in 1588, Sir Thomas was greeted with wild enthusiasm, an outburst heightened by reports that his sailors wore garments of silk, that his main-sails were made of damask, and that his top-sails were trimmed with cloth-of-gold. Off Mexico, Cavendish had captured the rich Spanish galleon, *Great St. Anne*, home-bound from Manila to Acapulco, as well as nineteen other richly laden Spanish vessels, whose opulent cargoes clearly indicated what wealth Spain controlled in the Far East.

Not long after the return of Thomas Cavendish, "The Memorial of Divers Merchants to the Lords of Council regarding the East India Trade," a petition requesting a license to trade with India,

was sent to Elizabeth for signature. After this request had been granted, in 1591 three ships outfitted by this merchant group set sail for India. Although the expedition came to a disastrous end, its leader, James Lancaster, who survived, succeeded in reaching England. Despite this misfortune, in 1596 a new company, headed by Richard Adam and Thomas Bromfield, set sail for China. So keen was the interest of Queen Elizabeth in this Chinese venture that she sent personal letters by these travelers to the emperor of remote Cathay. The expedition disappeared en route to the Orient, leaving no trace of its fate. Not long after, John Mildenhall approached a group of London merchants with a proposal to travel overland to India to inspect its wealth and treasure. Carrying a letter from Elizabeth to the mogul, the courageous Mildenhall left England in 1599, reaching India in safety.

The extent of English interest in foreign lands, especially Oriental countries, at this time coincides on the whole with increased wealth, prestige, and prosperity in England, which by 1600 had reached the apex of the Elizabethan era. Less than twelve years before, in 1588, England had met and defeated off the Spanish Coast the invincible Spanish Armada and with the loss of this great fleet began the downfall of Spanish, and the birth of English, supremacy on the high seas. England, having found her sea-wings, was now on the threshold of a new era. The feared grip of Spain, patrolling the waterways of the world, had at length been broken. Commercial expansion, the right to exploit new countries, the exclusive prerogative of Catholic monarchs to maritime and territorial monopolies, were topics of widespread discussion. Freedom of the seas, circumnavigation of the globe, the desire of England to carry her name, her flag, her prestige to India and the Americas, were burning questions of the hour. All this infused a new vigor into Elizabethan England, a fresh impetus to expansion and commerce that was destined ultimately to open the gates of India.

The years following the defeat of the Spanish Armada were prosperous years for England. With a population in excess of one hundred thousand, London was now one of the rich cities of Europe, one of the great intellectual centers of that period. Into London

the Reformation and Renaissance had brought a revival of learning, new classic standards in literature, architecture, and art, new philosophical and religious thought. Catholicism and monasticism, so strong in medieval Europe, were losing ground. In their place the teachings of Calvin, Luther, Zwingli, and Erasmus were being propounded. Calvinism was teaching the close tie binding church and state. Old ideals were being shattered. Out of Germany had recently come the revolutionary teachings of Martin Luther, carrying with them germs of religious, social, and intellectual reform which were to influence many generations.

A new London was being created. Throughout this new London moved the vigorous personality of one of the greatest queens in all history, Elizabeth, daughter of Henry VIII and the ill-fated Ann Boleyn. From their unhappy marriage Elizabeth had inherited a curiously complex character. Although astute, shrewd, and almost masculine in her viewpoint, a scholar, stateswoman, and diplomat, yet the English queen at heart was whimsical, capricious, and feminine.

A salient trait of the gracious Elizabeth was the luxuriousness of her tastes, a characteristic that was revealed in the elaborateness of her courts. Queen Elizabeth liked pomp, ceremony, and novelty. She moved frequently from place to place, from Whitehall to St. James, Greenwich, Hampton Court, Windsor, or Chelsea. At Whitehall, her favorite palace on the Thames, Elizabeth was surrounded by the finest luxuries the age afforded. Here her favorite books, her own personal copies of Greek, Latin, and Italian poets, many of which were richly bound in parchment or velvet and adorned with jeweled clasps, were housed, as well as her famous wardrobe, which contained more than three thousand costumes, all fashioned of rich, rare fabrics: silks, velvets, and satins, heavily trimmed with sables, laces, and embroideries. The tastes, the standards, and the styles set by Queen Elizabeth were imitated by the ladies of her court.

Conservative Londoners reared in the simple creeds of Luther looked askance at these lavish fashions, and at the wedding of a well-known lord, held in the chapel at Whitehall, the fashionable

and elaborately gowned audience was electrified to hear from the pulpit these significant comments:

"Of all qualities, a woman must not have one quality, and that is *too much rigging*. What a wonder to see a ship under full sail, with her tackling and her masts, and her tops and top-gallants, with her upper deck and her nether decks, and so be-dekt with her streamers, flags, and ensigns, and I know not what; yea, what a world of wonders it is to see a woman created in God's image, so *miscreate* off times with her French, her Spanish, and her foolish fashions, that He that made her, when He looks upon her, shall hardly know her with her plumes, her faunes, and a silken vizard, with a ruffle like a saile, yea, a ruffle like a raine-bow, with a feather in her cap like a flag in her top, to tell (I think) which way the wind will blow."

Although such sermons were occasionally delivered from London pulpits, yet mere words were powerless to stem the excesses of the Elizabethan era, for the age was one that demanded luxury of all kinds. Elizabethans of rank must be richly clad, regally housed, royally entertained. And so into popular favor at this day came tournaments, public pageants, masques, music, and the drama. Every holiday was regarded as a kind of national pageant. Even Christmas festivities touched a new peak, extending at times from twelve days to six weeks. Every court had its private stage, where masques, plays, and musicals were held. Fashions set by the court were followed by the masses: even small villages had their own plays, masques, and pageants, which vied in popularity with alehouses and taverns.

With the growth of the drama there arose many small theaters, which were often erected in the open fields on the south bank of the Thames, beyond the walls of Old London, far from the epidemic-breeding and congested areas of the city. Popular theaters in Elizabeth's days were the Globe, Swan, Blackfriars, and Hope, where the tragedies and comedies of contemporary dramatists—Shakespeare, Marlowe, Ben Jonson, Webster, and Beaumont and Fletcher—were given. Within the city proper strolling groups of players roamed the streets, playing to smaller, less critical audiences.

In the Elizabethan era poetry, like drama, reached new and untried heights. Ballads, odes, and sonnets were the order of the day, although the themes were often banal, ephemeral, and trite. Love, amours, romance, of these the poets wrote. But by far the greatest Elizabethan poet of them all was spiritual-minded Edmund Spenser, who dedicated to "The most mightie and magnificent Empresse Elizabeth" the exquisite verses of *The Faërie Queene*.

Art and literature flourish as a general thing only during times of prosperity. Elizabethan art and literature, which mirror with amazing clarity the affluence of their day, reflect as well the widespread demand throughout England for the unusual, for whatever was rare and unique. This taste for luxuries extended from articles of personal adornment, especially brocades and velvets, to curious and strange objets d'art, even to pungent spices and condiments from remote countries used to compound medicines and season foods and drinks.

The tastes, desires, and needs of the Elizabethan upper classes created a ready market for Eastern commodities, and to supply the exotic needs of these idle rich there soon arose a powerful middle class, a class made up of tradesmen, merchants, and artisans who contributed the backbone of English prosperity. Among them were many foreign merchants, Protestants and men of stern morals and rigid standards, who had migrated to London from the Lowlands, where civil wars were ruining local commerce. This semi-English, semi-Dutch group of merchants foresaw at this time the growth of a solid trade between India, Java, the neighboring Spice Islands, and England.

By 1600 many rival nations were already established in the Far East. For nearly a century Portuguese merchants had been trading at ports along the Persian Gulf, at Ceylon, at Banda and many of the neighboring Spice Islands, at Java, at Sumatra, at India. From Goa, their imposing Eastern capital on the Malabar coast, they had gradually expanded as far east as China. Then, toward the end of the sixteenth century, three expeditions had been sent out to the Far East by England's nearest commercial rival, Antwerp, a

move that caused widespread consternation in English commercial circles.

The situation in London mercantile circles reached a climax when Portuguese and Dutch merchants combined and unexpectedly raised the price of pepper from three to eight shillings a pound. This sudden rise in price aroused the fighting spirit of British merchants. With pepper, a basic commodity and a medium of exchange like gold, thus selling at the spectacular price of eight shillings, merchants decided to attempt to procure their own supply directly from the Far East, thus eliminating the need to purchase pepper through Antwerp brokers.

CHAPTER II

The Land of Spices

THE IMPORTANCE in English commercial circles of this sudden rise in the price of pepper cannot be overestimated. With fluctuations in the spice market threatening to disrupt the financial structure of England, with the London Pepperers, or dealers, clamoring for redress against the Hollanders, the attention of English merchants was turned to the Far East, to lands where the precious spices were produced so abundantly and at prices far below those quoted in England.

Out in the Far East spices had been widely known and used since the dawn of history. Cassia, or Chinese cinnamon, was popular at the Chinese court as early as twenty-five centuries before the Christian era. Century after century spices imported from the neighboring Moluccas continued to be in popular demand among luxury-loving Orientals. Cloves appear to have been widely used at one time in China, for in the third century B.C. a law was passed requiring every subject who appeared before the emperor to perfume his breath with them before entering the audience hall.

The earliest Oriental spice dealers appear to have been the Chaldean and Arabian merchants who, between 1700 and 1400 B.C., carried on a flourishing trade with China, Egypt, and the Near East in gold, silver, precious stones, silks, velvets, embroideries, muslins, hemp, teak, indigo, ivory, tin, ebony, aloes, eaglewood, cassia, saffron, cinnamon, camphor, and miscellaneous spices. So rich was this trade with Chaldea and Arabia that Egypt, Assyria, Babylonia, and Persia sought in turn to control the wealth-producing commerce. For Oriental trade at this time was creating rich dynasties, and the history of the rise and fall of the Phoenicians, Greeks, Carthaginians, Romans, and Saracens coincides to a marked degree with their com-

mercial prosperity. Waxing rich on the fruits of the spice trade, Alexandria, Bagdad, and Bussorak became in turn famous commercial centers; and as these cities waned, Venice, Genoa, and Constantinople gained control of the spice trade and deprived them of their power.

Although spices were valued originally for their medicinal, aphrodisiac, and prophylactic qualities, then later for seasoning food, wines, and beverages, yet throughout the centuries they came to have many quaint and curious uses. Thus, according to the Old Testament, sacred vessels in the tabernacles of the Holy Land were anointed with sweet oils, especially cinnamon. Cinnamon was also used, Proverbs adds, together with aloes and myrrh, for their aphrodisiac properties by ladies of pleasure, a use also extolled in *The Thousand and One Nights*. A more spectacular use of spices was in early Rome when the streets were sprinkled with nutmeg before the coronation of a new ruler; in early Greece also spices were used to perfume the temples on gala occasions.

In Greece, not only the priests but the medical world as well created a demand for spices; their curative virtues were so highly valued by the learned physician Hippocrates that he introduced their use into medicine. The center of culture and learning soon after Hippocrates's day was the Greek university at Alexandria, and from Alexandria a knowledge of science, art, literature, and medicine was carried across the Mediterranean and into Italy.

Among Roman products of this erudite age was Pliny's great *Natural History*, which includes a discussion of spices. Not long after Pliny wrote his history, another Roman, Dioscorides, personal physician to Nero, was conducting extensive experiments into the medicinal use of drugs, herbs, and spices. These researches were incorporated a century later by the physician, Claudius Galenus, or Galen, into a monumental volume called *Herbals*, which as late as the Renaissance ranked as the encyclopedia of the medical world. Galen's skill was reputed to be so great that he often used one hundred ingredients in a single prescription.

Throughout the Middle Ages drugs and spices were used more and more frequently as basic ingredients in compounding medicine: among them were aloes, opium, garlic, cassia, cloves, cinnamon,

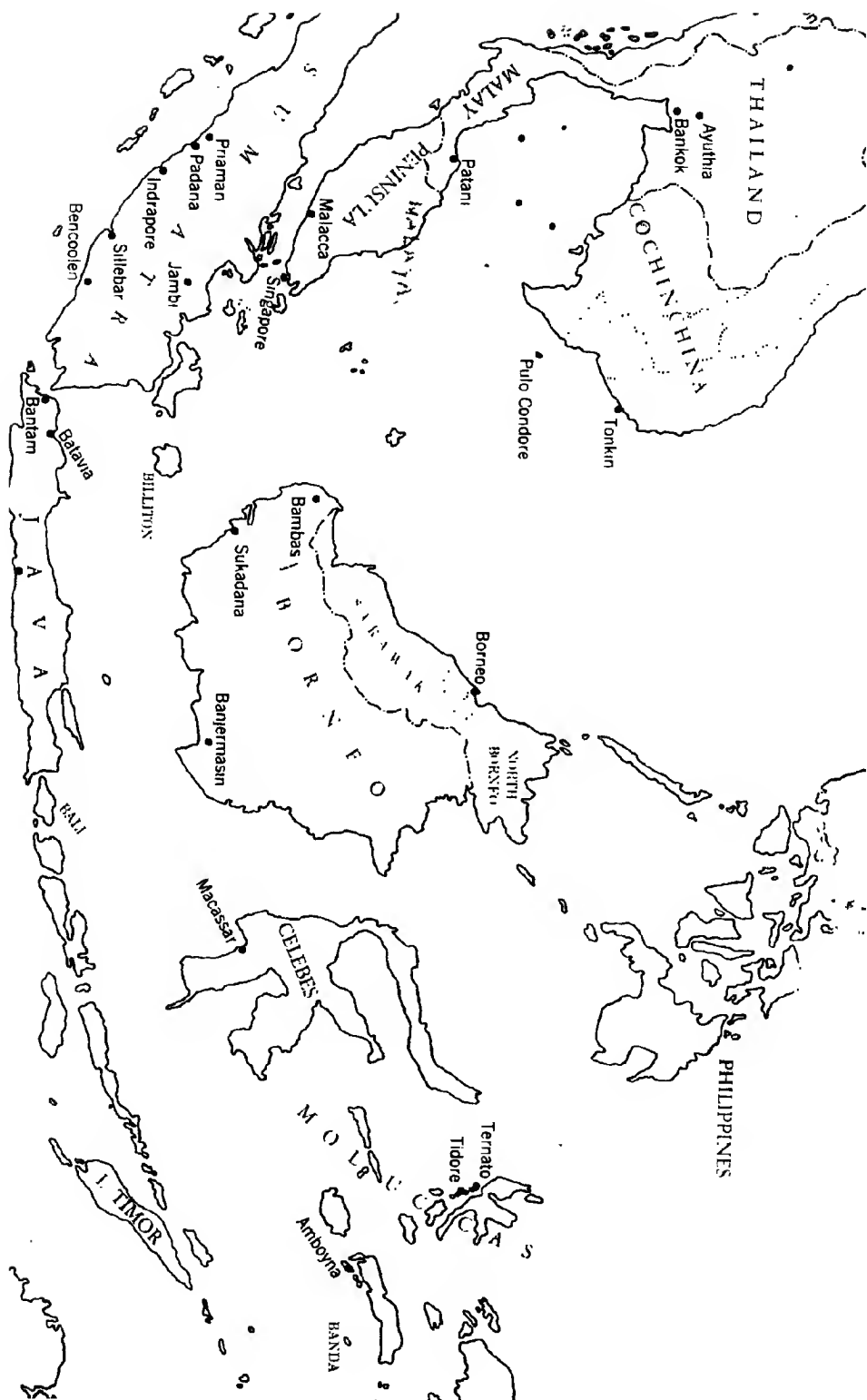
pepper, Persian rhubarb, and camphor. Pepper mixed with various spices, considered valuable for patients suffering from prolonged fever, was a favorite remedy of physicians. Similarly, a compound of spices was the prophylactic used in medieval Europe against plague. Other popular remedies in times of illness were cloves, cinnamon, cardamon seeds, quinine, and nutmegs.

Undoubtedly one of the most valuable of all Asiatic spices was the pungent berry, sold throughout Asia and Europe as black, white, and long pepper. Mentioned by Theophrastus in the fourth century B.C., it appears to have been so widely used throughout the East that it was regarded as a medium of exchange, like gold. In Rome, where it was known as the King of Spices, pepper had a definite monetary value, and when Alaric captured the city, among the tribute collected was listed three thousand pounds of pepper. At one time it was a popular form of bequest as well, being mentioned time and again in medieval wills.

From central Europe the use of pepper spread to England, and in 1180 a Guild of Pepperers was established to regulate the sale of pepper, which was selling for two shillings a pound, the equivalent in modern currency of sixteen shillings.

Throughout the ages its price fluctuated constantly, and by the time Constantinople was captured by the Turks, the price of imported commodities, including spices, had risen to such peaks that European nations were forced to seek a way to lower them. Eastern trade now fell into the hands of Portuguese traders who, during the sixteenth century, were establishing trading posts throughout the Far East. The Portuguese were followed in turn by the Dutch, whose activities, after 1600, centered on the Spice Islands. Toward the end of the Elizabethan era when the price of pepper, because of the Dutch and Portuguese traders, was soaring to new heights on the London exchange, English merchants began seriously to consider how to lower the price of all spices by importing them directly.

Remote though England was from the Far East, by this time factual knowledge of the rich lands where spices grew in such profusion and where other luxuries could be purchased, had drifted into London. Much of this information had come from the reports



of Caesar Fredericke, a Venetian merchant who traveled for eighteen years in the Far East; from the letters of Father Stevens; from the journey of Fitch, Newberry, and Leeds to Agra; from the report in 1597 of Dr. Thorne of Seville of the advantages of trade with India; and from secret letters found in galleons confiscated from Spain and Portugal.

The most illuminating of these early records is undoubtedly that of Caesar Fredericke, who between 1563 and 1578 visited Babylon, Bussora, Ormuz, Goa, Cambaya, Negapatam, San Thomé, Banda, the Moluccas, Sumatra, Siam, and Pegu. In his letters he describes "what fruits the Indes do yield and bring forth. First, in the Indes and other East parts of India there is Peper and ginger, which groweth in all parts of India. And in some parts of the Indies, the greatest quantities of peper groweth amongst wilde bushes, without any maner of labour; saving, that when it is ripe they goe and gather it. . . . The Gínger groweth in this wise: the land is tilled and sowed, and the herb is like to Panizzo, and the root is the ginger. These two spices grow in divers places.

"The Cloves come all from the Moluccas, which Moluccas are two islands, not very great, and the tree that they grow on is like to our Lawrell tree.

"The nutmegs and maces, which grow both together, are brought from the island of Banda, whose tree is like to our walnut tree, but not so big.

"All our good white Sandal is brought from the Island of Timor, Canfora being compounded commeth all from China, Long peper groweth in Bengala, Pegu, and Java. Muske commeth from Tartaria, which they make in this order, as by good information I have been told.

"Rubies, Saphyres, and the Spinels be gotten in the Kingdom of Pegu. The Diamants come from divers places, and I know but three sorts of them. Those that be pointed naturally come from the land of Delly, and from Java. Pearls they fish in divers places."

By the time England knew from the visits of her travelers what products were obtainable in the Orient, one of the greatest obstacles to English trade in the Far East—the political barriers—were being

gradually broken down. Philip II, papal ally and one of Queen Elizabeth's bitterest foes, a man who, by papal decree, would tolerate no invasion of what he considered his rightful domains in the Indies and the Americas, died in 1598, leaving Spain and Portugal to the mercy of his weak successor. While he lived, Elizabeth had hesitated to invoke war by deliberately trading in outlaw territory, but after his death Protestant nations, including England, began to stress universal freedom of the seas—the right of all nations to send ships into all waters.

Now that basic barriers to Oriental commerce were beginning to disappear, London merchants, including many of those who had invested in the old Levant Company, began to consider seriously the possibility of sending ships backed by English capital further East, to India, Java, Sumatra, the Spice Islands. With this end in view on March 10, 1599, a group of representative Londoners presented to the Privy Council documents entitled *Certain reasons why English merchants may trade in the East Indies*, a treatise that met with a favorable reception.

Encouraged by the constructive attitude of the Privy Council, a group of London merchants made plans to form a mercantile association. Six months later, these plans for the first time took definite shape. On September 22, 1599, the first general meeting of merchants and leading citizens interested in forming a trading company was held in a hall that belonged to one of the city Livery Companies by whom it was built in 1531. It was situated at the north end of Founders' Court in Lothbury Street near the Bank of England. In 1666 the building was destroyed by fire. The Lord Mayor of London, Sir Stephen Soane, presided, wearing his official wig and robe.

After calling the meeting to order, Sir Stephen discussed at some length the pepper problem in London and its effect on the English market. He told how foreign competitors were holding up the price of all East India commodities, especially pepper; how the commercial future of England was at stake; how Hollanders were outfitting Dutch ships, not only at home, but even in their own London shipyards and sending them out to the East Indies for spices. He con-

cluded by saying that although the Portuguese now controlled the India trade along the Malabar coast, and had established trading houses, or factories, on many of the Spice Islands, yet there remained a vast area ripe for exploitation. A motion was then made and carried that a London company be organized to purchase ships to trade in the Far East.

Sir Stephen's plan was received with a burst of enthusiasm and by the assurance that ample funds would be provided for the venture. So keen, in fact, was the interest aroused at this first gathering, that one hundred and one London citizens immediately signed the subscription book that was passed around, pledging in all some thirty thousand pounds.

Indicative of the popularity of Sir Stephen Soane's project in London commercial circles was the fact that two days later a second meeting, known as a general court, was held at Founder's Hall. It was during this second meeting that a motion was passed "to set forth a voyage this present year to the East Indies and other islands and countries thereabouts, and thus to make trade by the sale of such commodities as upon further deliberation shall be resolved to be provided for those trading ports or otherwise by buying or bartering such goods, wares, jewels, or merchandise," a motion that provided the cornerstone on which the great East India Company was subsequently erected.

On September 25, a third meeting was held at Founder's Hall to discuss the vital point of how to procure royal support for the required trading license, or charter. A committee of eight was now appointed to solicit the court on behalf of a charter, while a second group was selected to investigate the possibility of purchasing vessels staunch enough to withstand long sea voyages. Since Queen Elizabeth's official acts were controlled to a large extent by the opinion of the Privy Council, a resolution was also passed to present a petition outlining plans for the formation of a commercial company to this honorable body. This petition, historically speaking, provided the framework for what came to be known as the First Charter of the East India Company, and in it are incorporated the basic principles and codes under which the company subsequently

rose to prominence. In the petition a request was made to the Crown for a royal charter to enable a group of London citizens to form a joint or united stock company with exclusive rights to trade in the East Indies, with full powers to make laws, govern, and transact business, and with the right to export money coined at the royal mint out of bullion and plate brought in by the subscribers. Although in this petition a release was asked, during the first years of the venture, from all customs charges on merchandise imported, a concession made by the Dutch government to their East India merchants, yet neither subsidy nor financial aid was solicited from the Crown.

The petition of the London merchants to the Crown was favorably received by the Lords of the Privy Council. One obstacle stood in the path of the immediate issuance of such a charter—a treaty then pending between Spain, Portugal, and England; for in their petition the merchant adventurers asked the right to dispatch vessels without danger of being impeached for traversing what Spain claimed was her legal territory. This request for protection which might involve the Crown in diplomatic difficulties, however, was regarded unfavorably by the Lords, who felt that the signing of a treaty of peace with Spain would prove far more beneficial to English interests than uncertain commercial prosperity in the remote future. The petitioners overcame this point by drawing up and presenting to Her Majesty a list of Spanish and Portuguese holdings in the East Indies, supplemented by a list of lands in which the adventurers hoped to trade. These included Siam, Cambodia, China, "the rich and goulden island of Sumatra," and many adjacent islands. "In these," concluded the report, "and infinite places more abounding with greate wealth and riches, the Portugales and Spanish have not any castle, forte, block house, or comaundment."

A year of uncertainty and delay passed; then, on September 23, 1600, another general meeting of the merchant adventurers was held at Founder's Hall. Meanwhile, certain members had been working zealously to secure a favorable charter for the Company. Queen Elizabeth had been approached by several influential Londoners who, by arousing her pride in extending her name and fame through-

out the Far East, had at length convinced her of what lasting benefits England would derive from the formation of a trading company. Word that the Queen had finally authorized her petitioners to make all preliminary preparations for issuing a trading license, or charter, was divulged on September 23 to the assembled group who were then asked to signify their desire to share in the venture by the "erecting of hands."

Since all were in favor of this move, a motion to proceed with the organization of a company was proposed and carried. A board of directors, men representing the wealthiest and most influential circles in London, was then selected, and subscriptions amounting to £68,323, one-third of which was to be paid within a week into the treasury, were pledged by members. Preliminaries having been completed, committees were appointed to continue negotiations with the Crown while others were asked to inspect ships, with a view to their purchase, select officers, interview sailors, prepare the commissary, and arrange for a cargo.

Even before this charter had been officially granted, plans had been completed for the first voyage. The first ship bought was the *Grete Susan*, a vessel of 240 tons; she was purchased for £2,600 from one of the members of the association, Alderman Paul Bayning, who guaranteed to repurchase the ship for £800 upon her safe return to England. The *Grete Susan* was now overhauled and equipped with the necessary ropes, anchors, blocks, hammers, sails, awnings, flags, pennants, bells, kegs of powder, cartridges, fireworks, pikes, swords, muskets, boar-spears, and miscellaneous equipment needed for the voyage. Three more vessels, the *Scourge*, renamed the *Red Dragon*, a ship of 600 tons, the *Hector*, of 300 tons, and the *Ascension*, of 260 tons, were also purchased.

Soon hoists were lifting aboard vast quantities of supplies which had been secured by agents in the back country, Somerset, Dorset, and Devon, and in the ships' holds were stored wheat, meal, biscuits, pork, beef, bread, peas, dried fish, oatmeal, cheese, sweet oil, vinegar, honey, and sugar. When the holds were full, heavy kegs holding in all 150 tons of cider and 150 tons of beer were lashed to the decks. The vessels also carried lead, tin, and cloth valued at

£4,500, for barter, as well as generous gifts destined for native rulers.

By December preparations for the Company's first venture had advanced to a point where the directors believed that the formal request for a charter should be presented to Queen Elizabeth for her signature and seal. In this communication the two hundred petitioners, who subscribed themselves in the document as the Governor and Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies, asked for an exclusive permit or charter to undertake what they termed "a voyage of traffic and merchandize to the East Indies, the countries and ports of Asia and Africa, and to and from all the islands, ports, towns, and places of Asia, Africa, and America, or any of them beyond the Cape of Bona Esperanza and the Straits of Magellan."

On December 31, 1600, a charter, valid for fifteen years, which bore the stamp and signature of Elizabeth, was issued to the Company. The document conferred sweeping powers on the new group. In the Elizabethan charter the merchant adventurers of London were granted the exclusive right to trade in the Far East under self-imposed laws and without interference from the Crown. They were also allowed to dispatch annually a maximum of six ships, six pinnaces, and five hundred men, and to take gold out of the country provided they brought back as much foreign gold, silver, and coin as they exported.

One of the most striking features of the charter is the fact that exclusive powers of such magnitude were conferred on a relatively small group of individuals; that into the hands of this limited circle of London merchants, nobles, and officials, were placed extensive powers to govern, trade, make laws, and found trading posts, or factories, throughout the Far East. Of major importance and a source of constant discord in later decades was the clause that prohibited British subjects not connected with the Company from trading in the Orient, "a prohibition that reacheth to all Englishmen as do venture thither among the Dutchmen." Drastic regulations providing that all offenders would be penalized by the confiscation of goods, one-half of which would revert to the Crown and one-half to the Company, were also incorporated in the Charter.

Queen Elizabeth also arranged to have coined at her mint in the Tower for the exclusive use of the Company a new coin, equal in weight to Spanish pieces of eight. These coins, which carried the Queen's arms on one side and on the other a portcullis, were known as portcullis money. Her Majesty, who hoped to carry abroad her own name as well as that of England, and thus acquire prestige such as Spain had already won among Oriental monarchs, was extremely proud of her "portcullis money" which was carried in heavy chests on the Company's first voyage. A new flag was also prepared for the exclusive use of the merchants—a gay affair with a blue field in the upper left-hand corner, and a background of thirteen red and white stripes, a flag similar to the one adopted in 1775 by the Thirteen Colonies in America.

The governor, or president, of the new group was Sir Thomas Smythe, or Smith, of Westenhanger, Kent, a man of ripe experience who had also been governor of the old Muscovy and Levant trading companies. Sir Thomas's home at that time was a small edifice, known as the Smythe mansion, which stood on Philpot Lane, off Fenchurch Street, in Bishopgate, not far from the London Tower; here for a time Sir Thomas Smythe and his wife had been confined for a minor political offense. At this Smythe house for the next twenty-one years all official meetings were held and all affairs of the Company transacted. For the next seventeen years the offices of the Company were in Crosby House in Bishopgate Street; in 1638 these were moved to the Clitherow House near Lime and Leadenhall Streets; then, in 1647, the neighboring property known as Craven House was acquired by the Company and gradually remodeled and enlarged into a fine substantial edifice.

Sir Thomas's ripe experience, level head, and cool judgment were invaluable to the young Company during its first years in the Smythe mansion, a period of financial, commercial, and international complications in the careful handling of which depended the ultimate success or failure of the Company. The first of these difficulties arose early in 1601 when subscribers, by failure to send in their donations, plunged the Company into its first crisis, one lasting from January well into the spring, until, by April, debts contracted by

the Company exceeded by £7,000 the amounts contributed. Finally when the situation threatened to create an open scandal, an appeal was made for assistance to Elizabeth and the Privy Council, who issued a proclamation that all those who did not pay their subscriptions by a certain date would be put in jail for debt. This threat of imprisonment resulted in an influx of delinquent payments to the Company, and credit was promptly restored.

While Sir Thomas Smythe, Queen Elizabeth, and the Privy Council were engaged in re-establishing the Company's credit, preparations had been completed for the first voyage to the Far East. On February 13, 1601, the four ships, the *Red Dragon*, the *Grete Susan*, the *Hector*, the *Ascension*, and the supply ship *Guest*, with streamers and flags flying moved slowly out of the Thames from Woolrich, where the fleet had assembled preparatory to its departure.

Compared with the tonnage of modern steamships, these five small East Indiamen resembled miniature vessels, the largest, the flagship *Red Dragon*, being 600, and the smallest, the *Guest*, only 130 tons burden. The ships carried all told 400 men, supplies for a twenty months' voyage, and a full cargo of merchandise to be sold or exchanged for spices.

On board the *Dragon* was the general, or governor, as the commander of the fleet was called, the veteran mariner James Lancaster, who had already made two trips to the East Indies, one in 1591, that ended in shipwreck, and a second in 1594. His appointment as general of the first venture had been made with the unanimous approval of the stockholders, by whom extensive powers were conferred, including full and complete control over his ships, men, and cargo. These were incorporated in what was known as the governor's license, which was read aloud to Lancaster at a general meeting, or court, of the stockholders.

Lancaster also was reminded at this time that the Company was strictly a common or joint-stock venture "wherein no private traffic, barter, or exchange shall be practised," a regulation he was admonished to observe. "Due inquisition," he was told, "shall be made into all and every ship, by search of all chests, boxes, packs, packettes, writing, and other means whereby discovery may be made of

this breach of present ordinance." The enforcement of this simple clause, one of the basic principles of the Company's East India policy, was destined in later years to prove one of the pitfalls of the Company's servants, no matter what their rank.

In addition to the Company's license, Lancaster carried a special patent issued by Queen Elizabeth, authorizing him not only to punish, chastise, and correct offenders, but, in extreme cases, to establish martial law. "We graciously favor the said enterprise" the Queen added, "and approving and allowing of the Company's choice of yee with all fitt power to rule and govern all and every subject employed."

Manned, equipped, supplied, and prepared in so far as possible against all contingencies, the gallant Lancaster and his five ships set off on their great adventure to the Far East. For the first two months the elements conspired against them; the ships' sails flapped idly on the Thames while the men watched anxiously for the wind to freshen. Finally on April 18 the mouth of the Thames was passed. For a time fair winds favored them, and a course was set for the Canary Islands. Soon by rare good luck a rich maritime plum was sighted—a ship flying Portuguese colors. Overhauling her, the crew found that she was loaded with kegs of wine, oil, and fat. "These," writes Lancaster's lieutenant, "were at once transferred to our ship, and were a great help to us in the whole voyage hereafter."

Although such piratical acts were barred by maritime codes, Lancaster carried what was officially known as an *Ire of Reprisal*, issued by the Earl of Nottingham of Her Majesty's Admiralty Court, whereby the *Dragon* was legally licensed, in retaliation for the losses suffered by English merchants at the hands of Spanish and Portuguese captains, to loot ships of these two nations. Lancaster, however, was strictly enjoined not to molest vessels owned by loyal friends of Her Majesty.

But enemy ships from which supplies could be secured were few and far between on these vast waters. Soon, as fresh foodstuffs carried aboard the supply-ship *Guest* ran low, the tragedy that beset virtually all ships of this era, the dreaded scourge of scurvy, began to attack Lancaster's sailors. The dose of lemon juice pre-

scribed daily by their general failed to check the disease; the men grew worse; and to ease the crew the *Guest* was dismantled, the few remaining supplies removed, and the hull set afloat. By the time Saldanhia, or Table Bay, at the southwest tip of Africa, was reached, most of the crew were so ill that they were unable to walk, so ill in fact that the general with his own hands lifted many of them off the ship and into the small boats in which they were taken ashore. A few weeks spent on land on a diet of fresh meat and fruits which natives exchanged for trinkets, revived the patients.

On October 29 the ships hoisted sail once more, setting a course for Sumatra. Over a year after leaving England, on June 5, 1602, anchor was dropped at Achin, headquarters of a flourishing inter-island and India trade, where a flock of ships rode at anchor. Among those who came out to extend a cordial welcome to the English ships were two Dutch merchants, residents of Achin, from whom Lancaster ascertained that he would undoubtedly be well received by the local king, Alauddin Shah, a venerable monarch more than ninety years of age, and that the fame of England, conqueror of the Spanish Armada, had already spread throughout the Far East.

Remaining in seclusion aboard ship, Lancaster sent his representative, Captain John Middleton, ashore to present the Queen's official message to Alauddin Shah. This curious letter, entrusted by Elizabeth to Lancaster to deliver to any Eastern monarch with whom he wished to establish commercial relations, was so astute, so diplomatic, and so conciliatory in its tone, that it immediately paved the way for negotiations at the Achin court.

After stressing the benefits of international trade Elizabeth's letter continued:

"And if your Majesty shall, in your princely favor, accept with good liking this first repair of our merchants with your countries resorting thither on peaceable traffic and shall entertain this their first voyage as an introduction to a further continuance of league and friendship between your Majesty and us of commerce and intercourse between your subjects and ours, we have given orders to our principal merchants, if your Majesty should be pleased therewith,

to leave in your country some such of our said merchants as shall make choice of to reside in your dominions under your princely and safe protection until the return of another fleet."

Upon returning to the flagship, Captain Middleton reported that the king desired to grant Lancaster an audience and that a royal banquet in honor of the English travelers was being prepared; to enable Lancaster to recuperate after his long voyage, these festivities would not take place for two days. Gifts of fine calico robes lavishly adorned with gold were sent at the same time to the general by the local monarch.

On the eighth, the festive day on which the banquet was to take place, Lancaster, in full uniform and with an escort of thirty men, went ashore. As he disembarked at Achin he was met by six great elephants and a crowd of natives carrying trumpets, drums, and streamers. On the back of one elephant reposed a small red velvet house, built like a miniature castle, and covered with a lace curtain. Another elephant carried a howdah, or seat, for the use of the general. After traveling through the crowded streets the procession paused at Alauddin's castle, on the banks of the river a short distance beyond the city. Here in a lofty palace, hung with mats of gold and velvet, sat the monarch, a man "grosse and fat," surrounded by forty women whose sole task was to fan him, sing to him, or feed him betel nuts, choice food, and copious drinks of brandy.

At the gates of the palace, Lancaster was met by the King's envoy and ushered into the royal presence. Bowing low, he handed him the Queen's letter. Elizabeth's gifts were then presented: a great silver basin with a fountain in the center, an ornate looking glass, a feather headdress, a case of daggers with its embroidered leather belt, and a great fan made of feathers. The fan interested the King immediately; he handed it to one of his women and smiled complacently as she fanned him.

Lancaster's bearing during the ceremonial visit won the favor of the local monarch, who declared his affection for England and his readiness to welcome English traders to his land. These friendly overtures were now sealed by an elaborate banquet served on vessels of gold and brass. Throughout the feast the King sat aloof in

regal state on a small balcony, unbending from time to time as the banquet progressed to toast the general in the powerful native rice wine, or sake. Lancaster, however, unaccustomed to this heavy, sleep-producing beverage, could only drink by diluting his wine with large quantities of water. After the banquet was over, musicians played quaint native music while young girls entertained the guests with dances characteristic of Sumatra. The celebration closed with the bestowal on Lancaster by the king of a regal gold-and-white robe and some native dancers. The king's generous offer of a house in the city was reluctantly declined; Lancaster preferred to live, for a time at least, in his own quarters aboard ship.

The queen's letter, written in the mysterious English idiom, now became the leading topic of discussion at court. Finally, with the aid of learned Arabians, its contents were deciphered. The king, touched and flattered by its friendliness, suggested that he might be willing to make treaties with England. Upon being recalled to the King's presence, Lancaster used every means within his power to impress upon the local ruler Elizabeth's affectionate and generous nature, the prosperity of her land, and how much wealth trade with English merchants would pour into his royal coffers. All this, duly interpreted by the Arabians, touched the right chords of the monarch's heart.

Having issued a proclamation ordering his subjects to protect all Englishmen at Achin, the king asked that an agreement be drawn up between the two nations. In this document the English were guaranteed free trading privileges, freedom from customs duties, stability of bargains, the right to live according to their own laws and codes, and freedom of conscience in religious matters.

With the political atmosphere thus cleared, Lancaster now directed his attention to the main object for which he had sailed east, the acquiring of spices for the London merchants. Some pepper bought from the natives was soon loaded on his vessels, but the ships were unable to take on full cargoes, the spice being scarce and prices disappointingly high.

While negotiations were proceeding at court, the local Dutch

merchants were friendly and courteous at all times toward the English visitors. The tactics of Portuguese traders, on the contrary, soon proved troublesome, and before long Lancaster realized that pepper was scarce at Achin primarily because of the enmity of the Portuguese, who even went so far as to send Indian servants, disguised as vendors of henna, to spy on the English factors.

Winning over, by the adroit use of flattery, the confidence of a young Indian servant off a Portuguese ship, Lancaster also ascertained that the Portuguese were planning to attack his fleet as soon as it set sail from Sumatra. Then again fortune favored the English. The king of Achin, having recently received a request from the king of Siam to assist him in a campaign to conquer Malacca, called in Lancaster for advice before making his decision.

This intimate interview afforded Lancaster just the opportunity needed. Into the monarch's ready ear Lancaster now poured tales of Portuguese deceit and chicanery against the English, and of plots made to attack his vessels. The king pointed out to the English general the maritime weakness of these wily traders, but volunteered, notwithstanding, to prevent their ships from leaving port until the English were far beyond reach of their treachery. In return for this favor, he jocularly requested Lancaster to bring him a Portuguese maiden on his next voyage.

The time had now come for the English to set sail from the pleasant land of Sumatra. Leaving two young merchants, William Starkey and Roger Styles, under the friendly protection of the king to collect pepper for the return visit of the ships, on September 11 Lancaster put out to sea bound for Malacca. Unfortunately throughout this voyage Lancaster's ships were buffeted by head winds that finally prevented the fleet from landing at Malacca. In the Strait, however, a rich capture was made—a ship from the Bay of Bengal carrying nine hundred packs of calico, merchandise, and rice—supplies that were taken aboard the general's ship. Having been unable to land at the Strait, Lancaster decided to return to Achin, where on October 24 he again dropped anchor and presented to his friend, King Alauddin, several gifts off his recent prize, thus attempt-

ing to compensate, so he said, for his failure to bring back to His Majesty a fair Portuguese maiden.

During Lancaster's absence his factors had been occupied in assembling quantities of pepper, cinnamon, and cloves which were immediately loaded on the ship *Ascension*. While bags of pungent spices were being stowed aboard the *Ascension*, the *Susan* was sent up the coast of Sumatra to find out whether pepper could be purchased more cheaply at the smaller towns and ports.

When the time arrived to take leave of the gracious king of Achin whose friendliness and hospitality had been untiring, Lancaster was presented by him with a letter for Queen Elizabeth together with gifts, a gold ring set with rubies and three garments interwoven with gold. The letter stressed the king's desire for peace and friendship with England, and confirmed the rights and privileges he would extend to English merchants trading at Achin.

The extraordinary scene that occurred at the time of Lancaster's departure is described in the journal of Lieutenant May, diarist of the expedition:

"When the generall tooke his leave the King said unto him: have you the Psalmes of David extant among you? The general answered: Yea, and we sing them daily. Then said the King: I and the rest of these nobles about me will sing a Psalme to God for your prosperitie, and so they did very solemnly."

Finally, on November 9, the ships left Achin, reaching Bantam, their next port of call on the west end of the island of Java toward the middle of December. Here Captain Middleton, acting again as General Lancaster's envoy, went ashore with a message to the king. The monarch of Bantam proved to be a young boy of ten, whose affairs were handled by a group of eighteen noblemen. After presents had been offered and the queen's letter read, the noblemen accepted Her Majesty's proposals for trade, commerce, and friendship. Goods were at once brought ashore; trade began with the natives after the king had made his selection of English commodities.

So brisk was business that within the next five weeks the English loaded 230 bags of pepper aboard their vessels. Considerable interest was aroused at port among the local natives as to why the

English required such vast quantities of pepper. The solution finally arrived at was that the walls of English houses were so cold that they were plastered with pepper because it gave heat.

With their ships weighed down with pepper, cloves, cinnamon and nutmeg, Lancaster's fleet now prepared to return to England. Before he left, the general laid plans for the purchase of spices to continue during his absence. At Bantam an English factory, in charge of William Starkey and eight factors, or associates, was opened, and a small pinnace manned by twelve men was loaded with English goods and sent to the Moluccas to make commercial contacts and if possible establish trading posts, or factories. A few days before the ships hoisted sail to return to England, Lancaster lost one of his bravest men, Captain John Middleton, who died suddenly after an illness of only a few hours. The loss of this popular leader cast a heavy gloom over the departing fleet.

On February 20, 1603, Lancaster's fleet sailed out of Bantam harbor, home-bound for England. The return voyage proved unexpectedly perilous. In a heavy storm the *Dragon's* rudder snapped; a crude substitute devised by the ship's carpenter also broke, and the men in a rebellious mood threatened to desert the ship and go over to the *Hector*. Notwithstanding, Lancaster refused to abandon his ship with its cargo of rich spices. At this critical hour he wrote what he believed might be his last letter, a message which he entrusted to the captain of the *Hector* to deliver to the home office in London. Indicative of his sturdy character and his unflinching loyalty to his English supporters, this terse note is concerned not with his own personal safety but solely with the welfare of his vessel:

"June 5, 1603

"Right worshipfull: What has passed in this voyage, and what trades I have settled for this company, and what other events have befallen us, you shall understand by the bearers hereof to whom I must refer you. I will strive with all diligence to save my ship, and her goods as you may perceive, by the course I take in venturing mine own life, and those that are with me. I cannot tell you where

you should look for me, if you send out any pinnace to seek me, because I live at the devotion of the wind and seas.

"And thus fare you well, desiring God to send us a merrie meeting in this world, if it be his good will and pleasure.

"Your very loving friend,

— "James Lancaster."

Then, just when the situation seemed beyond hope, the *Dragon's* rudder was repaired, and as the ship regained its course the low spirits of the seamen returned to normal. Finally, early in September the shores of England were again sighted; on the eleventh anchor was dropped at the Downs. The ships came into port only to find that momentous events had taken place at home during their long absence. In the spring of 1602, their own London Company in an attempt to find a short route by the northwest to the Indies had sent the daring explorer George Weymouth in command of the *Discoverer* and the *Godspeed* to explore the waters near Greenland, a region so vaguely known to cosmographers of that day that mariners were of the belief that by sailing northwest through "straits Davis" ships would emerge near China.

A new king sat on the English throne. Elizabeth, the aged but loyal supporter of Eastern commerce, had passed quietly away at Richmond, surrounded by her court; in her place reigned James, her young Scottish cousin. This dynastic transition had been quietly accomplished without factional disturbances. Of more immediate importance, however, was the news that London was in the throes of a great plague; men were dying by the thousands and trade was virtually paralyzed. "It has pleased Him," runs a London letter of this period, "to chastize this Kingdom with great sickness and mortality. From December 1, 1602, to December 1, 1603, 38,138 persons have perished."

London merchants had carried the heavy financial load of sending voyages out to the Indies only to find that, because of the economic situation in England when Lancaster's ships returned, there was no market for pepper. The London plague had reaped not only a physical but a ruinous financial harvest. Credit was paralyzed.

No funds could be raised to pay off the sailor or the factors left at Bantam, or to send new voyages out to the East Indies.

Furthermore, down in Leadenhall Street vast supplies of pepper owned by King James had accumulated. This by right of his "princely prerogative" and the low state of the royal purse, he declared must be sold before the new supply brought in by the London merchants was placed on the market; and, in November, an Ire, or royal order, was issued to the Company's governor, Sir Thomas Smythe, to restrain the sale of Lancaster's cargo of pepper.

This drastic move on the part of King James plunged the Company into a financial crisis. Bills long overdue could be met only by the disposal of the Company's pepper, whose sale, by royal edict, had been banned. Down in Philpot Lane the governor and his committee met in consultation. Appeal after appeal was sent to the Earl of Dorset, the king's treasurer, for clemency, but without success. Yet with a desperation born of despair, the London merchants continued to press their case. At length James, recognizing the future importance of Oriental trade to his country, withdrew his edict, and allowed the London Company to place pepper on the open market.

The sale of pepper, as the plague waned and London merchants re-opened their places of business, restored the prestige of the Company. As profits were realized on the rich cargoes brought home by Lancaster, the London Company began to look forward with confidence to new ventures; to believe that the hopes, plans, and aspirations of years were being justified; and that the faith of Elizabeth in England's commercial future had been vindicated. England for the first time had reached out a long arm to the East, and was reaping profits such as Portugal and Holland had garnered. Internationalism had dawned for English trade.

CHAPTER III

Dutch and Portuguese Tactics

BY LANCASTER'S VOYAGE the foundation had at length been laid for sending pepper direct from Sumatra and Java to the London markets. Since the sale of this pepper, despite the temporary oversupply in England, had brought generous dividends to the original adventurers, or subscribers, keen enthusiasm was aroused for further voyages. London merchants who had been skeptical before were now finally convinced that the spice trade would undoubtedly prove a bonanza to participants. As a result, when the subscription books were passed around to raise funds for a second expedition, there was a rush to subscribe, approximately £60,000 being pledged.

With ample funds thus provided, a sturdy fleet of four ships, the *Red Dragon*, *Hector*, *Ascension*, and *Susan*, with a total tonnage—considered large in those days—of 1,600 tons, was outfitted and equipped for the East Indies. The command was assigned, not to Lancaster, but to one of his most capable men, Henry Middleton, of Chester. Under him were his brother David Middleton, Christopher Colthurst, and Roger Style, each being in command of a vessel. The fleet carried a picked crew of five hundred sailors, many of whom had already sailed East.

On this second voyage the directors of the London Company wished not only to concentrate their activities on the pepper trade of Sumatra and Java, but also to attempt to trade direct with the Moluccas, or Spice Islands, where mace, cloves, and nutmegs grew in profusion. Much of this valuable trade was, however, already controlled by the shrewd Portuguese traders or by the Dutch who had in recent years opened factories, or trading stores, at major ports in these islands.

The English vessels were heading for a *terra incognita*. Since no English vessel except that of Drake had visited this region, an uncertain fate awaited the four vessels. It was feared the attitude of native princes and rulers toward English merchants might prove hostile, for many had long been allies of early Dutch and Portuguese traders. How far these same Dutch and Portuguese would prevent English vessels from trading for spices was also open to conjecture.

Aware of this situation, the directors of the London Company advised Middleton to rely for advice and assistance in emergencies on the friendly king of Bantam. Middleton was further directed to leave two ships at Bantam to load on pepper and with the remaining vessels go in person to the Moluccas, ascertain what commodities could be sold or bartered to the natives, and there attempt to purchase a full cargo of cinnamon, cloves, mace, nutmeg, China silks, indigo, ambergris, bezoar stone, and camphor. Stowed away in the hold of Middleton's ships were fourteen chests that held £11,000 to be used for these purchases, together with a large supply of bright-colored cloth for barter.

Indicative of the puritanical character of the London directors is the way in which Middleton was cautioned to supervise with the utmost diligence the conduct and morals of the young men in his ships. In fact for many decades moral guidance continued to be one of the salient features of the Company's East India policy. To supervise its men became not only a paternalistic duty but a religious responsibility. Stringent rules were accordingly devised at its board meetings to preserve the moral behavior of its merchants when subjected to the temptations of the tropics, and all who violated these rules were swiftly punished. What at the present day seem to be ridiculous restrictions were considered necessary in those days for two reasons: to protect their own servants, and to avoid international friction such as had been caused by the lax conduct of Dutch and Portuguese merchants with native women.

In establishing trade in these new lands the Company followed a simple policy. Presents and letters were sent to the reigning monarch of the island; his consent was secured for vessels to trade with native merchants; and, if conditions seemed propitious, several of

the young boys who had come out with the expedition were left ashore to collect cargoes for the next fleet. These young merchants lived together in a house, or factory, and were known as factors, or agents. Between fleets they often traveled to neighboring ports purchasing spices, or making new contacts. Frequently several years elapsed between fleets, and the English factors, far removed from the home office in London, found many opportunities to grow lax in Company matters.

The training of the factors was begun on the way out to the Far East, and like all generals of that day, Middleton served as ex-officio minister, as well as commander. He was under oath to hold prayers and read the Bible aloud daily, and not to tolerate any "blasphemy, idleness, excess sleep, or gambling, or any occasion that might breed mutiny, quarrels, or dissention." To divert the men, plays were recommended, especially those of a rising London playwright, William Shakespeare, whose *Hamlet* and *Richard the Second* had of late been amazingly popular throughout England.

On Sunday, March 25, 1604, the second great venture of the London merchants hoisted sail off Gravesend, bound for the Far East. Before the ships had been many weeks at sea, scurvy began to spread with extraordinary rapidity, thinning the ranks of those who manned the vessels. By the time the Cape was reached the crews were so emaciated that a rest ashore was imperative. Although a brief sojourn on the African coast brought temporary respite, yet long before Sumatra hove into sight the disease broke out with renewed violence. Day after day factors, crews, and officers fell ill and died. By the time the outer roadstead off Bantam was reached on December 22, the remaining members of the crew were so weak that scarcely a man could leave his bunk to heave the heavy anchors overboard. Even Middleton lay weak and wan in his cabin, too exhausted even to present his official letter to the king. Aware of their desperate plight, a Dutch general in command of twelve ships that had recently reached Bantam, brought the men who were too ill to land, fresh fruit, and water.

Throughout Bantam the information soon spread that four English ships with mere skeletons of crews rode in the outer harbor.

Immediately the young English factors who had been left behind by the Lancaster expedition came aboard, eager for news from home. In the four years they had been out of London, only one Dutch ship had brought mail from England. Not until then had they learned briefly of the death of Elizabeth, of the coronation of James of Scotland, and of the great plague that had devastated London.

The homesick factors regaled the slowly reviving crews with lurid tales of their adventures. They told, first of all, of the despondency, homesickness, and frequent illness of their own men, and of the death not only of their chief factor, William Starkey, but of several of their merchants. They told how, after Lancaster's ship left, their inexperience made them the target of irate islanders. They told how the heat of the day made rest impossible, how the enmity of the natives who threw firebrands and burning arrows on their dwelling, shrieking in glee as the flames rose, made the nights hideous. They told too of one fateful night when a great fire, sweeping the city, reached their warehouses and burned 190 sacks of pepper.

Business could only be transacted by giving heavy bribes to native officials, whose rapacity was without end. For a time their troubles were enhanced by the arrival in port of Dutch ships, whose crews, coming ashore after months at sea, celebrated their shore-leave by fostering a general riot in Bantam. This caused the natives to commit further outrages against all white men, including Englishmen. Then the Chinese merchants, aroused by Dutch atrocity, threatened to kill every Dutchman on the island. Since the Chinese unfortunately could not always distinguish between the English and Dutch, the English lads adopted and wore at all times white uniforms with sashes of brilliant red as an emblem of their nationality.

Among the hardships they described was their lack of knowledge of how to handle tropical pepper, which if overheated by warm rains, swelled, bursting the sacks. Pepper, furthermore, was often sold to them loaded with dust and water to increase the weight. Despite these obstacles the English factors stood their ground, buying more and more pepper, and now their warehouses were stacked

high with the pungent black spice that Middleton's scurvy-ridden ships had faced death to procure for the London market.

Bantam in those days was the leading pepper port of the Far East, and with its three great central markets, one of the most active cities in the Orient. From the harbor the town appeared to stretch for three miles or more along a waterfront teeming with ships, Chinese junks, and small craft. On two sides of Bantam flowed rivers, also crowded with shipping, that carried pepper from the great plantations of the interior to the sea. The city proper was enclosed by a thick wall, surmounted with towers. Minarets, towering above the wall, indicated the Mohammedan faith of its citizens.

For centuries the commercial life of Bantam had lured to Java traders whose animosity created constant disturbances. In the streets and bazaars Chinese pepper planters rubbed elbows with idle, quarrelsome Javanese residents, with Christian, Mohammedan, and Indian merchants. Amid this melee, Dutch and English factors schemed, bid, and maneuvered to procure the cream of the Bantam pepper crop, controlled almost entirely by Chinese merchants.

On December 23, 1604, when Middleton's ship pulled into port, Bantam was ruled by an indolent but genial young monarch. This youth welcomed any diversion afforded by the arrival of foreign ships that carried odd cargoes, were eager to barter, and usually had aboard many interesting presents. After the flattering and friendly letter of King James was presented, English requests to be allowed to continue to trade at Bantam were at once granted. As evidence of good faith, Middleton was given a present of bezoar stones for the English monarch, together with the cordial missive: "When I did hear that your Majesty was come to the throne of England, this did greatly rejoice my heart, for now England and Bantam are one. And so God have you in his keeping."

But all the alluring ways of the Bantam monarch did not entice Middleton to tarry. Leaving two ships in port to take on loads of pepper, he pushed south with the *Red Dragon* and the *Ascension*, their crews still ill. This was the rainy season, the time when heavy showers fall daily. Soon Middleton's men were dying again, this

time of the flux, a form of tropical dysentery. Nothing seemed to cure this deadly malady of the tropics, not even the English "chirurgions dyet of burned wine" which to men "sicke of the flux is by the phisitians of this country held rather poysonous than cureable." Only the grim resolution of Middleton kept his ships headed for their goal—the Moluccas, or Spiceries.

Middleton's destination was the most southerly group of the spice archipelago, the islands where nutmegs, cloves, and mace could be bought direct from native dealers. Out here Portuguese and Dutch traders, long in control, saw in the English merchants bitter rivals. The treachery and unfriendliness of the Dutch was soon evident to Middleton upon landing at the island of Amboyna, the seat of important Dutch factories and one of the major islands of the clove group.

The charms of Amboyna had long been extolled by early visitors. "Amboyna," wrote a seventeenth-century traveler, "sitteth as a Queen between the isles of Banda and the Moluccas. She is beautified with the fruits of several factories, and dearly beloved of the Dutch." Traders knew that at this queenly island a heavy cargo of cloves could usually be procured by barter. East India wares, especially cloth bought at Bantam, and such things as English drinking glasses, mirrors, and trinkets, all were eagerly exchanged by native traders for the coveted spices. The crafty Amboyna traders, moreover, often loaded their cloves with dust.

Upon reaching Amboyna, where he had hoped to conduct a peaceful trade, Middleton found a Dutch fleet, with guns booming, engaged in capturing the old Portuguese fortress. Unfortunately for English interests, the aged structure soon fell. Flushed with victory, the Dutch now forced the native governors, whom they had completely cowed by this display of force, to prevent the English from landing on their island.

Compelled to leave port, the *Ascension* in turn proceeded to the island of Banda searching for mace and pepper, while the *Red Dragon* sailed to Tidore, a clove settlement in the Moluccas. At the latter port the English were successful in finding cloves and in

securing from the local king a letter of friendship addressed to the English ruler, imploring aid and protection against the king of Holland.

At the neighboring island of Ternate the English were again welcomed. Years before Sir Francis Drake had won the friendship of the king's father, and since that day, the return of English ships had been eagerly awaited. Meanwhile Dutch traders had attempted to poison the minds of the islanders against all Englishmen. "We have been informed," wrote the king of Ternate in a letter he entrusted to Middleton to deliver to King James in England, "that Englishmen were of bad disposition, and came not as peaceable merchants, but as thieves and robbers to depose us of our countries. But by the coming of Captain Henry Middleton we have found to the contrary, and we greatly rejoice." Yet despite his apparent preference for English friendship, the king was induced by the Dutch who had in recent years assisted him to expel his ancient enemies, the Portuguese, not to allow the English to open a factory on his island.

Notwithstanding, by mid-summer the holds of Middleton's ships were full. Nutmegs and mace had been taken on at Banda, cloves had been procured from Tidore, and great quantities of pepper loaded at Bantam. By early October the ships had assembled at Bantam and were overhauling their sails, equipment, and supplies before starting home to England.

The voyage home met with a series of disasters. Near the Cape the *Susan*, caught in storms, sank with all aboard. The little *Hector* outrode the storm, only to lose the bulk of her crew from scurvy. Seven months out from Bantam, the depleted fleet reached London. But once at home, perils and tragedies passed into oblivion. Spices were sold at high profits to London merchants, netting 100 per cent to subscribers. Middleton's voyage was successful, and the able general was knighted for his services.

By this time it was increasingly evident to the London Company that the main obstacle to acquiring a monopoly of the spice trade for England was not so much the hostility of native princes as the persistent enmity of the Hollanders. Having driven most of the

Portuguese traders from their Far Eastern trading posts, the Dutch out in the Far East now determined to control, by fair means or foul, all commerce with the Spice Islands, especially Amboyna and Banda. To procure this control, diplomacy was enlisted, and the Dutch now represented themselves to local chieftains as their friends and allies, their deliverers from Portuguese oppressors. In return for this support they asked for the exclusive right to purchase cloves and nutmegs from their allies, and to erect forts and factories on their islands.

The London Company was also called upon at this time to solve a new problem, that of the interloper, or unlawful trader. This problem was later to embroil it in endless difficulties in the Orient. Under its original Elizabethan charter the London Company had guaranteed to send one expedition annually to the East Indies, but because of financial obstacles, within the first six years only two ventures had been dispatched. Uneasy over this delay in capturing the spice trade, James I licensed a young English knight, Sir Edward Michelborne, to trade in these same regions. This the London Company considered an infringement of its charter.

Unperturbed by the Company's protests, Sir Edward, with the *Tigre's Whelp*, sailed direct to Java, landing at Bantam. There, becoming embroiled with a ship in port, a brisk fight ensued, terminating in the capture by Michelborne of the vessel. Subsequently the ship was freed, but not until the name of England had fallen into disrepute with the local monarch, and a cloud cast on the friendly relations so carefully established.

This episode was capitalized to the full by the Dutchmen. The king of Bantam was led to believe that all Englishmen were alike, "being thieves and disordinate livers." While at Bantam, Sir Edward, in whose patrician veins ran buccaneering instincts, capriciously captured several more merchant vessels. Had Michelborne acted with more restraint, so loud a protest might not have been raised in London circles against James's favorite. His voyage, however, was a serious obstacle to the furtherance of English East India commerce, and by his acts the English flag had been discredited in and about Java, Sumatra, and the Moluccas. Upon Sir Edward's return

to England in 1606, the Company sent a drastic protest to the Privy Council setting forth its rights and objections to his lawless tactics.

After Sir Edward's activities, the London Company realized more than ever before the need not only to consolidate and strengthen its hold on the East Indies, but to enlarge the field of its activities. Up to this time it had established only one factory at Bantam. An expedition backed by a new group of stock subscribers was now prepared to open factories near the Dutch holdings on the Spice Islands. This fleet was also equipped to trade with India, primarily on the west coast above the great Portuguese capital at Goa.

With this double objective the third fleet set sail from England on April 1, 1607, under the leadership of General Keeling. The third venture outfitted three vessels, the *Dragon*, *Hector*, and *Consent*. On this voyage letters and gifts were carried for Akbar, ruler of India, in addition to those addressed to the kings of Java and the Moluccas, and in the ships' holds were packed lead, iron, and tin for the India trade. An ample stock of cloth, bright-colored ribbons, scarfs, and velvets was also stored away for barter with the natives.

The passage out to the Far East proved tedious in the extreme; Keeling's ships touched en route at many small pepper ports of the Sumatra coast; and it was not until October 4, 1608, that the central pepper port of Bantam was reached. Here pepper and Canton silk were taken aboard the *Dragon*, which, fully loaded, returned to England.

Meanwhile the *Hector* had touched at Surat, far up on the west coast of India. From there, after landing several English factors, the ships had sailed south, joining Keeling's vessel at Bantam. Leaving Bantam, the general took his ships on down to the island of Great Banda, where he delivered to the king a cup, a headdress, and some weapons, and where an agreement was soon consummated for the founding of an English factory. This Banda-Anglo agreement was regarded with disfavor by the Dutch traders, who sent Chinese servants to spy on every move made by the English on the island. "Where the Dutch have a factory," writes the general in his diary, "let no man look for better measure, large gifts being better

regarded than good dealing. Be chary." Although rumors were rife that the Dutch were planning to attack the English ships, yet Keeling continued in his unperturbed, deliberate way to stow nutmegs in the hold of his ships until his eyes ached from spice dust and the intense heat of the tropics.

By August, 1609, Keeling was back again at the outer roadstead at Bantam. Here piled up on the wharf he found 4,900 bags of pepper which had been collected by the factors during his absence. Cargo aboard, he then prepared to return home. His diary lists the factors he left behind at Bantam—his "Factorie," he calls them. These included Augustine Spalding, at an annual stipend of £50, Francis Kellie, who drew 45 shillings a week, and eleven assistants with monthly wages varying from 10 to 30 shillings. Having weighed anchor on October 3, 1609, six months later after an absence of three years the general sighted the English Downs.

After the return of Keeling, the directors of the Company, confident of trade expansion, recognized the need for a charter to replace the fifteen-year privilege issued by Elizabeth. A petition was now made by the Company for a new charter which was granted on May 31, 1609, by James I. This document incorporated the privileges outlined by the earlier charter, but made the grant perpetual, "unless it shall hereafter appear to us, our heirs, or successors, that this grant, or the continuance thereof, shall not be profitable to our heirs, or successors," in which case the charter could be revoked upon three years' notice.

Meanwhile, William Hawkins, nephew of the famous freebooter, Sir John, had reached the west coast of India on the *Hector* of Keeling's fleet, that had been separated by monsoons from the *Dragon* off Africa, and was acquiring invaluable knowledge of India. Landing at Surat on August 24, 1608, with James's letter for the mogul, Hawkins opened negotiations with the local governor for a permit to land goods and buy native products.

Some inkling of the reception accorded Hawkins at the port is revealed in the diary of his associate, William Finch. Hawkins, he observes, came ashore with several English merchants, only to be housed in the porter's lodge at the customhouse, where he was

thoroughly searched. While the Englishmen were being subjected to this ignominious treatment, the Portuguese wrote to the local governor, branding the newcomers as "Lutherans and thieves," saying they were Flemings, and not English. To keep the natives from trading with them "two Jesuits threatened fire, faggot, and utter desolation if they received any more English wares."

Semiconfinement in the porter's lodge soon proved irksome to the ever-active Hawkins, who tells in his diary how he devised a way out of his dilemma:

"After many complements done with their chiefe customes, I told him that my coming was to establish and settle a factory in Surat, and that I had a letter for his king from His Majesty of England, tending to the same purpose, who is desirous to have league and amity with his king so that his subjects might buy freely and sell, as the customs of all nations is, and that my ship was laden with the commodities of our land, which by intelligence of former travelers, were vendible in these parts."

By this frank declaration, Hawkins found his status materially elevated; he was welcomed at Surat, regally wine and dined, and given a cordial welcome. Formal license to establish trade and found a factory could only be procured, however, from the mogul's court at Agra, a long and tedious journey overland from Surat. Messengers were now sent by Hawkins to Agra for this purpose, but were delayed by the torrential rains prevalent at this season. Pending their return the energetic English visitor brought ashore three chests of money with which he purchased commodities to be exchanged later at Priaman and Bantam for pepper. Surat merchants, in the habit of selling direct to these latter ports, raised their voices in protest and finally carried their complaints to the ears of the local governor.

Aware of their disfavor, Hawkins decided to remain for a time in India and visit, if possible, the interior. His plan was, after the *Hector* laden with India wares had left Surat, to join the *Dragon* at Bantam and to travel in person up to Agra, where Emperor Jahangir was residing. No sooner had the *Hector* left port, however, than the ship was captured by the Portuguese, and men and goods taken ashore at Goa. Though the *Hector* was subsequently

released, yet it was not before bitter words, presaging further trouble, had passed between Portuguese and British seamen.

After this treacherous move, Hawkins lived in constant fear of his Portuguese neighbors. Except for a solitary Englishman, William Finch, who "all the time was extremely sicke of the Fluxe," he was now alone at Surat, where he "could not peepe out of doores for feare of the Portugals; who in troops lay lurking in by-ways, to give assault or murder me."

In desperation, as a last expedient, Hawkins appealed to the local governor of Surat for protection against the Portuguese, who were aided in their intrigues, he believed, by the Jesuit fathers and were now plotting to take his life by poison. This official, by issuing a sharp warning to the culprits, effectually checked such a disaster and saved the life of Hawkins.

After experiencing the treachery and enmity of his ingenious rivals at Surat, Hawkins was more than ever convinced that only under the protection of Emperor Jahangir could he hope to escape death in India. Expediting his preparations, Hawkins with an Indian guard now left the coast for Agra. As he traveled, new plots against his life were suspected on all sides. Finally on April 16, 1609, the English envoy reached the far-famed capital of India, experiencing en route, as he writes, much "labour, toyle, and danger."

Upon entering Agra he was met and escorted to court by the king's cavalcade, in a style befitting his rank. Having approached the throne to deliver James's missive, he was welcomed by the mogul in a genial and courteous manner. Since Hawkins had some knowledge of the Turkish language, he was able to converse without interpreters with the ruler of India. After toying for a time with the king's message, Jahangir, to Hawkins's dismay, handed it to a Portuguese priest to decipher. Although giving a fairly accurate version of its contents, the crafty Jesuit commented unfavorably on the general tone of the letter, saying it failed to convey proper homage to the emperor.

Notwithstanding, the entertaining ways of Hawkins won the favor of Jahangir, who was so charmed with his conversation that he urged him to remain indefinitely at Agra and promised him lavish

gifts. To the consternation of the Portuguese at court, this English Chan, as he was known, soon became the king's favorite. "The Jesuits and Portugals slypt not," Hawkins writes exuberantly, "but by all means sought my overthrow, and to say the truth, the principall Mahumetans neare the king, enjoyed much that a Christian should be so nigh unto him. The Portugals were like madde dogges laboring to work my passage out of the world."

His court seething with plots, the Emperor, considerably perturbed, called in the Jesuits, telling them that if Hawkins "dyed by any extraordinary casualltie, they should rue for it." To prepare his food, and to save him from poison, Jahangir gave Hawkins a young Christian Armenian girl, whom he subsequently married and took back to England.

Having won the king's good graces, Hawkins now executed the commission for which he had come to India, and appealed for a permit, or farman, authorizing England to trade direct with India. Hawkins's request was granted. Jahangir signed the permit "so firmly for our good, and so free as heart can wish." This authorization was at once sent down to William Finch, who had remained behind at Surat.

Informed of this grant, the Portuguese redoubled their activities to check further concessions to the affable English envoy. A diplomatic letter accompanied by valuable gifts was rushed by special messenger from the viceroy at Goa to the emperor at Agra. Flattered by the jewels sent for his personal adornment, Jahangir listened sympathetically to the Portuguese sycophants, who complained that the king of Portugal looked with disfavor on these English overtures. Almost simultaneously, a delegation of native merchants from Surat appealed to Jahangir to save their coastal commerce, relating how the Portuguese, since the advent of the English, had barred their ships from leaving port.

To Hawkins's dismay, Jahangir, won over by their arguments, swerved to the opposite side, befriended the Portuguese, and issued a decree "that he would never suffer the English to come any more into his ports." As the full force of this verdict dawned upon Hawkins, he realized he was virtually stranded in India, without friends

and in dire danger of Portuguese chicanery. Years would pass before another English ship would touch at Surat. His only recourse, he felt, was to curry favor with the Jesuits. By this means he hoped to find a way to reach Goa, where, by taking passage for Lisbon, he might ultimately reach England.

Unaware of the failure of Hawkins's mission, back in London the directors were already engaged in outfitting their fourth expedition. Capital of £33,000 having been pledged, on March 14, 1607, the *Ascension* and the *Union* under Alexander Sharpleigh sailed down the Thames and out into the North Atlantic. To Sharpleigh was entrusted the task of establishing new contacts along the Red Sea, especially at the ports of Aden and Mocha. From there, if monsoons were in their favor, the ships hoped to head for Surat. As an alternative, Bantam and the spice archipelago were to be visited. Factories were to be established if possible at Banda, Ternate, Tidore, Priaman, and India.

At Aden, Sharpleigh in the *Ascension*, the first English ship to touch at a Turkish port, was cordially welcomed. Here two young English merchants, John Jourdain and Philip Glasscocke, were left ashore to travel overland to India. After setting a course for north-western India, the gallant *Ascension* was wrecked a short distance below Surat. By manning the lifeboats her crew managed to escape, and, after many hardships, penniless, half-starved, and disheveled, reached Surat.

Further misfortunes beset the remaining vessel of the fourth expedition. Off Zanzibar several of the *Union's* crew were slain. Then, with winds against her, the ship was blown far off her course toward the Moluccas. After many trials and tribulations, the *Union* made Priaman, where she took on a full cargo of pepper. Then, on the return voyage, when only a few days from England, she was dashed to pieces on the rocks off the French coast. By this calamity the fourth expedition was a total loss to the Company.

Meanwhile the sailors off the *Ascension* had made their way up the coast of India to Surat. Here they joined the small colony of Englishmen who were now stranded without a ship at that port, unable to return home unless by overland caravan or in a passing

Portuguese vessel. Several of Sharpleigh's crew decided to await a Portuguese ship; the balance went to Agra, where Hawkins, his associate, Finch, and John Jourdain had already congregated. At Agra there was constant bickering and distrust between members of the stranded English colony. Finch and Hawkins quarreled openly; for Finch desired to move indigo by caravan to Aleppo for the Company's account, a plan to which Hawkins refused to consent. Finally Finch left for England by the overland route, dying en route at Bagdad.

Of these trying days at Agra, Jourdain, who reached there just as Hawkins was at the peak of his difficulties with the emperor, has given a succinct record in his diary. He attributes Hawkins's failure primarily to his taste for strong liquor, a habit of which Jahangir did not approve. Far more probable is the theory that Hawkins was a victim of intrigues on the part of the Portuguese Jesuits.

The problem now faced by the Englishmen still in India was how to reach England. In the hope of finding English ships somewhere along the coast Jourdain, Sharpleigh and two English sailors left Agra in July, 1611, for Cambaya, an active shipping port north of Surat. There the possibilities of future trade with this city so aroused Jourdain's interest that he writes, "this cittye of Cambaia is one of the best cittyes of all India for beautye and trade, being the staple towne where the Portugalls every yeare doe come with many frigates." Jourdain had in fact entered one of the leading markets of India, a port long known to Portuguese merchants. In the harbor were hundreds of small craft flying the flag of Portugal and taking on loads of merchandise (especially the fine cloths and indigo so desired by English traders), to be sent to Europe in the Goa-Lisbon ships.

This visit to Cambaya proved a fortunate move, for here the tidings reached the Englishmen that ships from England had recently anchored off Surat. They proved to be those of Sir Henry Middleton's expedition, the sixth venture of the London Company. To his surprise Jourdain learned at this time that two fleets had left London since the loss of the *Ascension* and the *Union*. The first of these, the fifth venture, which had consisted of a solitary

ship, the *Consent* under David Middleton, had left England in the spring of 1609 bound for the Spice Islands. There despite the opposition of the Dutch, they procured 112,000 pounds of mace and nutmegs which were sold in London at profitable prices.

The London Company's sixth expedition, whose timely arrival was so welcome to the stranded Englishmen, was one of the largest fleets ever dispatched to the Orient. Eighty-two thousand pounds had been subscribed for this expedition; and Middleton's flagship, the *Trades Increase*, of 1,100 tons burden, was one of the largest ships of her day. So important was her appearance in maritime circles that she had been launched and christened by King James in person. The *Trades Increase* was accompanied by three smaller ships, the *Peppercorne*, the *Darling*, and the supply ship, the *Samuel*.

This fine fleet, the pride of the London Company, left England in the spring of 1610. It met with many vicissitudes. Prior to arriving at the Surat roadstead, Sir Henry had one of the most distressing experiences of his long maritime career. Among the objectives of Middleton's voyage was to attempt to procure trade concessions for English merchants at the ports of Mocha and Aden. Anchoring at the latter port, Middleton was cordially received, taken ashore, and feted at an elaborate banquet where toasts were made to the future of Anglo-Turkish commerce. This ostentatious gesture led the general to believe that his mission would prove fruitful.

Leaving Aden, Middleton now set sail for Mocha, confident of a favorable treatment at that Turkish port. But at Mocha the general with several of his crew were suddenly seized and put in chains. The *Darling* was then boarded by a swarm of heavily armed Turks. Fighting for their lives, the English finally threw a burning brand into a keg of powder and took to the water. In the explosion that followed only one Turk escaped, the remaining infidels being either burned or drowned when they jumped overboard.

By now the situation had grown highly dangerous. The Turks ashore were frightened by the explosion and lost much of their fighting spirit. In the meanwhile General Middleton had been chained and imprisoned in a small building once used to house

dogs, a dark, unsanitary hole overrun by rats. The Turks at this time decided to take their prisoner to the Turkish court far in the interior. So the general and thirty-four English sailors were forced to march 180 miles to the pasha's court.

Ushered into the royal presence, the fagged Englishmen were merely warned that, since they were Christians, they must not approach the Turkish religious center at Mecca, otherwise they would be killed. After more stirring adventures on Turkish soil, the men finally escaped to their ship, damaged, but still afloat, and, hoisting sail, moved off at full speed toward India.

On September 22, 1611, they hove into sight of Surat. Here again in approaching what they believed would prove a safe and friendly port, they were met to their dismay by a formidable and aggressive Portuguese fleet, which having learned of their appearance in the Red Sea, had assembled with all available ships to blockade the English vessels.

Middleton now concluded that at Surat, as at Mocha, trade could be carried on only in the face of almost insurmountable obstacles. Notwithstanding, the natives bartered with him secretly for the vermilion, quicksilver, lead, and velvet carried in his ship's hold, at a new anchorage called Swally Hole.

Middleton, without a legal permit to trade in India from Jahan-gir, found himself in a dilemma. All he could hope to achieve at Surat was to rescue his countrymen, who, cloaking every move with the utmost secrecy, had at length managed to send word to the ship that they were waiting to come aboard. Braving danger, Middleton, guarded by two hundred soldiers, finally went ashore and escorted Hawkins, Jourdain, Sharpleigh, and the remaining Englishmen safely aboard his vessel. All hope of establishing a factory at Surat was now reluctantly abandoned, for although the natives were willing to trade with English ships, yet the Portuguese were still omnipotent on the west coast of India.

These unexpected rebuffs, both at Mocha and Surat, left Middleton in somewhat of a quandary. Conflicting opinions as to the best course to pursue were now voiced on the decks of the *Trades Increase*. Some voted to demand justice from the Portuguese viceroy

at Goa; others wished to proceed to Bantam; while others clamored to return to the Red Sea and take revenge on the Turks by plundering their ships. The latter plan was the one finally adopted.

By February, 1612, Middleton and his ship were bound again for Turkish shores. Here they met General Saris just out from England with the eighth expedition. After some discussion and delay Saris persuaded Middleton to go instead to Bantam, and both expeditions left simultaneously for Java, where they procured pepper. But the enmity of the Dutch made the purchase of cloves and nutmegs difficult. Yet despite Dutch threats the *Peppercorne* managed to fill her hold with spice.

The great *Trades Increase* met, on the other hand, a tragic end. Middleton with a crew emaciated from scurvy grounded in shallow water off Bantam and was forced to abandon his ship. Of her last days Peter Floris writes, "She was lying on the ground without mast, with three and thirtie men, the greatest part sicke, the ship being sheathed on one side and not on the other. In her had deceased one hundred English and more Chinese which wrought for wages, and eight Dutch by some strange sickness." Middleton soon followed his ship, dying, some say, of grief over the loss of his vessel.

Hawkins and Jourdain, who were traveling in the *Trades Increase*, succeeded in reaching England. There they regaled friends with accounts of Dutch, Portuguese, and Turkish tactics out in the East, of the difficulties confronting English trade in the Spice Islands in India, and of the vast wealth to be derived from trade as yet untouched in the inland cities of India. The experience and knowledge thus gained by the Company had proved costly in men, funds, and ships. Yet out of this wealth of experience were to come larger, finer, and more ambitious ventures.

CHAPTER IV

The Land of the Great Mogul

AS THE RESULT of the experiences of Hawkins and Jourdain at the mogul's court and their reports of India, the London Company now decided to center its interests in this vast country. India, geographically speaking, is shaped somewhat like a ragged triangle, being tied by the towering Himalayas on its northern flank to the main continent of Asia. Following south this triangular appendage gradually narrows as if caught between the pounding waters of the bay of Bengal and the Arabian Sea. Off its southern tip rises a small satellite—the island of Ceylon. From the frigid zones of its mountainous area to the languorous heat of its tropics, this vast land is one of the richest, the most heavily populated, and the most complex of all Eastern countries.

Few lands are more heterogeneous than India. Even today the population includes many totally diverse types, groups without basic unity of heritage, habits, or faith. This Indian medley has been centuries in the making; from the dim past into this Far Eastern melting-pot have poured long streams of aliens who still retain many of the beliefs, the customs, and the traditions of their forebears.

The natural contours of India have determined to a large extent her history. Barred on the northeast by the inaccessible ice-bound plateaus of Tibet, prehistoric migrations, before the days of ships, could enter India only through the narrow Khyber Pass. Pouring in from central Asia to northern India, the primitive Aryan invaders located originally in the fertile river-bottom lands fed by the Jumna and Indus rivers. Some fragmentary knowledge of these Indo-Aryans has survived. What little is known of their home life, their religious beliefs, their indigenous manners, customs, and

habits, has come down in their ancient hymns, poems, songs, and legends called the *Rig-Veda*.

The *Rig-Veda* unveils prehistoric India. Throughout its songs and sagas appear a domestic, peaceful race, a people of profound religious instincts. In India as in ancient Rome, the father served as priest in his own household. Women, unlike the cloistered type of today, enjoyed freedom and social equality. The occupation of these Indo-Aryans was confined primarily to tilling the soil, tending herds, or building ships. Some, however, became weavers, coppersmiths, goldsmiths, and metalworkers. So skilled were they in these crafts that their fame spread beyond India. Thus, by the seventh century B.C. a brisk trade had already been built up between Indian merchants and Babylonian traders.

Today as in times past India is a land saturated by religion. Casual travelers visiting India are often mystified and perplexed by the number of Indian temples, priests, and deities, by the innumerable religious ceremonials and customs that occupy and absorb to a marked degree the lives of the people. Material matters, far more than in other lands, are largely subordinated to religious life in India.

And from the time of prehistoric migrations, religion has been a salient phase of Indian history. The first of the great religions to sweep over and engulf India was Buddhism. This calm, introspective faith was founded far up in the hills of northern India in the sixth century B.C. by Gotama Siddhartha, known as the Buddha, and reached its zenith under the beneficent King of Bihar, Asoka, whose kingdom in the third century B.C. housed thousands of Buddhist priests, temples, schools, and monasteries.

Meanwhile, in 327 B.C., Alexander and his cohorts invaded India, leaving scarcely a trace of the classic culture of Greece on the lands through which they passed. After Alexander's campaign India turned primarily to Brahmanism, and so strong grew this faith that the Brahmanic priests dominated and controlled civilian life. Then as Brahmanism waned, the ancient faith of Hinduism arose with renewed force.

Some thousand years after the coming of the Buddha, the mili-

rant creed of Mohammed flamed up in Islam. Five centuries later, when the crescent was carried by the devout Arabs into the Punjab and Sind, India rang with its clashing swords. By 1000 A.D. Mohammed's followers were concentrated north of the Ganges with headquarters at Delhi. In this age, and after the restless years of the crusades had reopened the age-old artery into India, through the Khyber Pass swarmed hordes of quarrelsome Afghans, Turks, and Tartars.

In the centuries that followed, northern India, at the mercy of their keen-edged blades, seethed with civil wars and racial conflict. In 1396 Tamerlane swept down from Samarkand into India; between 1525 and 1527 Baber sacked Delhi and captured Agra. Ultimately Baber's dynamic conquests brought about the founding of the great Mogul dynasty and the complete subjection of Hindu India. Approximately thirty years later Baber's great successor, Akbar, ascended the Mogul throne, and it was largely during his reign that the vital task of amalgamating war-torn India was consummated. Akbar, indeed, proved so astute a statesman, so humane a leader, that within fifty years not only the north, but the Deccan, or south, came under his benign sway.

With the reign of Akbar, the Mohammedan contemporary of Elizabeth of England, begins the rise of modern India. By adopting a policy based on peace, religious toleration, and economic progress, this leader infused fresh life into India. The age of petty kingdoms, with rival monarchs constantly in conflict, now gave way to a united empire, sanely controlled by a central government. In addition to creating an amalgamated India, Akbar looked with favor on what proved of far wider import—international contacts for India.

Though at rare intervals European travelers had reached India, yet the first European power to found settlements on India's coast was Portugal. In the Middle Ages, Portuguese leaders were distinguished both as crusaders and explorers, and so great was their success that by the early decades of the fifteenth century the Portuguese, having expelled the Moors and fought in the wars of the holy crusades, were gradually supplanting Arabian merchants in

the Far East. As traffic increased, Portuguese vessels owned by these merchants carried on a brisk trade between Lisbon, the Lowlands, and Africa.

Much of this Portuguese activity was undoubtedly the result of the aid and cooperation afforded merchants by their monarch, Prince Henry the Navigator, who equipped Portuguese ships with the latest maps and finest nautical instruments of the day. By patronizing navigation, Prince Henry, a devout Christian, cherished beneath his maritime ambitions a religious goal: to crush the Turks and liberate Palestine. The Christian prince with this end in view developed commerce to such an extent that by his death in 1460, Portuguese mariners had already sailed as far south as Cape Sierre Leone.

As they pushed east, west, and south, Portuguese sailors gradually shattered the maritime superstitions of that age: the belief that the ocean became at times a cauldron; that ships sailed downhill and could not return; that sirens seized ships; that monsters inhabited the depths. Escaping these perils, Portuguese sailors were soon bringing home valuable cargoes from remote countries. Ships then began moving far down the west coast of Africa. Soon the Americas were reached, and a waterway to India discovered. By 1500, Portugal, authorized by two papal bulls bearing the ecclesiastical seal of Pope Alexander VI, claimed lands found by her explorers east of an imaginary line drawn from pole to pole 370 leagues east of Cape Verde. What lay west fell to her neighbor, Spain.

After the return in 1499 of Vasco da Gama, who had sailed around the Cape to India, Portugal recognized the commercial future of India products, and within a few years thirteen ships visited the Malabar coast, where they took on cargoes of gold and spices. Lisbon as the result of this new trade now became the leading port for the redistribution of Far Eastern products throughout Europe.

To commemorate Portugal's commercial strength, King Emanuel adopted at this time a new title, calling himself "Lord of the Conquest, Navigation, and Commerce of India, Ethiopia, Arabia, and Persia," a cognomen that was officially recognized by the pope. During the early decades of the sixteenth century Portuguese mer-

chants gradually built up an extensive trade in the Orient; and to protect this commerce a Portuguese viceroy was appointed to reside at Goa. Under this new regime, a flourishing Portuguese empire with trading posts throughout the Far East gradually developed.

The first of these new viceroys was Francisco de Almeida, who was appointed in 1505 to India. With the arrival of the second, Alphonse d' Albuquerque, a man of rare acumen and broad vision, dates the rise of three major Portuguese centers. The first was Goa, a leading port on the Malabar coast, which was captured in 1510 by Albuquerque's forces; the second, Malacca, fell in 1511 into the hands of this leader; the third, the Persian port of Ormuz, was conquered in 1515.

In the ensuing decades Portuguese missionaries, traders, and explorers spread from these three major arteries throughout the Orient. By 1540 the Portuguese empire was a reality; trading factories or settlements dotted the coasts of India down to Ceylon, and stretched along the Persian Gulf, the coasts of Indo-China, and around the Malay Peninsula.

The most important of these Portuguese centers, both strategically and commercially, was the old Indian port of Goa, usually termed Queen of the Malabar Coast. Enclosed by hills, its port had two commodious harbors, safe even in months when the monsoons blew violently. Within the harbor was an island, some ten leagues in circumference, on which rose the ancient Hindu city of Goa, renowned in the days of its prime for its art, wealth, and culture. Originally owned by the king of the Deccan, Goa had acquired independence only to fall before the viceroy's assaults. In Goa, Albuquerque found fulfilled his dream of a strong Portuguese fort, a flourishing colony, and a naval base. By encouraging his young colonists to marry natives, found homes, and reside in India, Albuquerque's colony soon became the strongest of all Portuguese possessions in the Far East.

In those days Goa Dorada—Golden Goa—was the Lisbon of India. At its bazaars were sold the rarest of Oriental merchandise—precious jewels, fine silks, rich velvets, objets d'art, and spices. In its main streets auctions of slaves were held. Goa was renowned

too for the commodious buildings, magnificent houses, churches, and public edifices that dotted its leading avenues. In the end, excess of wealth caused the downfall of Goa, which became a city steeped in vice.

Portuguese colonists and merchants of this era who came out to settle on the Malabar Coast were usually accompanied by Jesuit, Franciscan, or Dominican fathers. They built innumerable monasteries, churches, and schools in Goa, which soon became the religious center of the Franciscan brotherhood in India. In 1542 the great apostle of the Far East, Francis Xavier, reached Goa. Aided by his brown-robed brothers, men known as Paulistas, not only did Xavier wage a vigorous Christian crusade throughout the Orient—where his converts numbered hundreds of thousands—but he strove especially to check the iniquities of Golden Goa. Furthermore, as their power grew the Franciscans ingratiated themselves with local rulers and procured many valuable favors and concessions for the Portuguese colonists.

But by 1600 the vigorous control of the viceroys and the religious power of the priesthood were on the wane. Goa, degenerating, had lost its pristine strength. Unchallenged by European rivals, welcomed by Oriental princes, the Portuguese believed their hold invincible, their prestige unassailable. The advent of the English now brought a rude awakening. With her Eastern empire imperiled, an empire that had been a century in the building, Portugal was thus destined to be the bitter enemy and the violent challenger of England's entry into India.

Knowledge of Portuguese successes, of the richness of her commerce, now induced the London Company to attempt for a second time to found a factory in India. The location favored for the venture was the rich province of Gujarat north of Goa. Here lay the port of Surat with its safe harbor; and here, at the large cities of Ahmadabad, Cambaya, Broach, Burhanpur, and Akbarpur were to be found the products so much in demand back in England. Many of these cities of Gujarat were known to be extensive and heavily populated. Ahmadabad, which was reputed to be as great even as London, was surrounded by strong walls and con-

tained a vast number of stores owned by Moorish merchants. Cambaya, by the sea, was another great mart and the center of Portuguese activity. The Goa-Cambaya trade was so flourishing that a fleet of two hundred frigates came there annually from Goa.

To this rich land the tenth voyage of the London Company was now dispatched under Captain Thomas Best. Best had command of only two ships, the *Dragon* and the *Hoseander*, but he had extensive power, for King James I had granted him full "authority to conclude and ratify a treaty with the Great Mogul."

On September 5, 1612, Best dropped anchor off Surat. Going ashore, he procured from the local governor a certificate, or farman, authorizing the English to trade in his province. This local document, nevertheless, did not suit Best's needs, for what he desired were not local permits but a general agreement with the great mogul himself. So Best concluded to approach the mogul in person. "The following day," he notes in his journal, "it was determined to send a post to the King at Agra to signify our arrival and to require his answer certain whether he would permit us to trade and settle a factory. Otherwise to depart his country." What Best hoped to secure for England were certain trade concessions, permission for an English envoy to reside at the mogul's court, redress for past injuries to English merchants, a fixed customs rate of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, and protection for English factors on shore.

But before an agreement could be reached, the sails of treacherous Portuguese vessels were sighted off Swally, and Best's attention was diverted from diplomatic overtures to military tactics. Coming into port, the ships' crews captured on the streets of Surat two Englishmen who had been sent ashore on business. From their captors, by whom they were soon released, the English merchants learned that the main Portuguese fleet was moving up the coast from Goa to attack the English ships. Though totally unequipped for war, Best prepared to meet the enemy. Finally one day toward the end of November, the long-expected Portuguese fleet, consisting of four great galleons and twenty-six small frigates commanded by Admiral Nunes d'Ancunha, appeared off Swally.

Faced with overwhelming odds, Best moved bravely toward

the enemy; and by adroit military maneuvers, avoided for a time a major engagement. Throughout December a series of minor skirmishes between Portuguese and English took place beyond the harbor. On December 24, a decisive engagement was fought in which the Portuguese were defeated by the English and put to flight. Although English losses in the engagement had been slight, the Portuguese had suffered heavily in the encounter.

Psychologically at least, Best's victory over the Portuguese forces on the west coast was of inestimable value to England, whose military prestige was now definitely established. Not only had the Portuguese, long masters of this coast, been proved vulnerable, but the natives, watching the combat from the shore, were made fully aware of the importance and power of England. The victory also won for Best the objective of his voyage to India—the mogul's sanction of the local farman. The English merchants were now legally empowered to open a factory at Surat and to trade by paying an import duty of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent throughout the province of Gujarat.

Leaving ashore his cargo of broadcloth, lead, iron, and quicksilver, and taking in exchange Surat cloth to be bartered at Achin and Bantam for pepper, the victorious Best set sail for Sumatra, Java, and the Moluccas. Before his departure he left at Surat a small colony of young factors, among whom were Nicolas Withington, Anthony Starkey, Thomas Aldworth, and Nicolas Downton, in charge of the veteran merchant, Thomas Kerridge. Another factor, William Canning, was entrusted by Best with the delicate task of carrying King James's letter to the mogul at Agra.

Upon reaching the mogul's court, Canning realized at once that he must face the enmity of the Portuguese fathers, who, by lavishing presents on the Emperor, and by insinuations against the English, had persuaded the mogul not to reply to the king's missive. Then, not long after Canning had written to his friends in England of "the feare hee was in to be poisoned by the Jesuits," he died suddenly of a mysterious malady, possibly poison.

His successor, Thomas Kerridge, who was sent from Surat to act as English agent at the mogul's court, also failed to win the

favor of the ruler. Although the English factors were unsuccessful at Agra, they were kindly received throughout Gujarat, in which they traveled seeking trade connections, inspecting local products, and paying the way for future commerce.

In London at this same time the directors of the Company were actively engaged in devising ways and means to rehabilitate their dwindling commerce. With profits from the last few voyages sinking, and with Dutch opposition in the Spice Islands increasing, a decision was now reached to concentrate the Company's activities on unexploited areas of India, especially the inland cities, where goods could be bought far more cheaply than along the well-traveled coast. This drastic experiment was considered imperative after rumors began to circulate throughout England that the Company was draining the land of its gold.

Unlike the Spice Islands, in India English goods found a ready market. Furthermore, they could be exchanged advantageously for India produce, thus eliminating the export of gold that had called forth so much protest. By carrying India wares procured by barter on down to Java, Sumatra, and the Moluccas, goods could be used again in place of gold to purchase spices.

Notwithstanding, more capital was needed for expansion. The new system now inaugurated by the London Company was the method successfully used by their Dutch rivals, known as the joint-stock venture. According to this new system, subscribers could now purchase ventures, or stock, that carried participation in the profits of several, rather than a single voyage. Thus the risk was more fairly distributed, and far more working capital provided.

This change of policy from single to joint-stock ventures materially benefited the Company. Between 1612 and 1616, £429,000 was raised, and twenty-nine ships, an average of seven annually, sent out in four joint-stock ventures to the East. Profits were lavish, exceeding at times 100 per cent. Losses and profits were thus more nearly equalized, whereas, under the old system, an individual cargo might yield a profit of 200 per cent, yet if a ship were lost, the adventurers who had bought stock in that ship were deprived of their entire investment. Under the old system, too, cargoes could

not be sold until the royal share of pepper had been marketed. Often sales were on long terms, sometimes two years; at other times, if the market proved weak, subscribers took their profits in spices. Out of it grew the so-called candle auctions, where spices were sold on the open market. In these auctions, an inch of lighted candle was placed on the auctioneer's desk, and bids could be made only until the light flickered and died out. Frequently bags of spices valued at £100,000 were sold at these famous candle auctions.

The first expedition of this new joint-stock venture was placed in command of General Nicholas Downton, one of the great naval heroes of England. His fleet of four gallant ships carried more than one hundred men each, and reflected in size and personnel the financial strength behind it. On October 15, 1614, Downton's fleet reached Swally, off Surat. Downton was immediately approached by the viceroy of Gujarat, Mukarrab Khan, for assistance against the Portuguese, who had recently aroused the antipathy of the natives. This he declined, having been expressly warned by King James not to provoke hostilities, "except you shall be by them first thereunto unjustly provoked," with the European allies, especially Spain and Portugal. Although Downton clearly recognized that his mission was one of peaceful trade, not political entanglements, yet anxious to win the esteem of the fickle Mukarrab Khan, Downton showered him with gifts—knives, pictures, and liquor. Additional presents, including a powerful English mastiff, were sent by Downton to the mogul at his capital.

But the pacific plans of Downton were soon frustrated. Within a short time rumors reached the General's ears that the viceroy of Goa was preparing to defend his India trade and force the English off the coast, and that his entire eastern war force was already assembling for this purpose at Goa. Then, on December 23, a flotilla of small river boats, the advance guard of the Portuguese fleet, anchored off the Tapti River near Swally; they were followed in the middle of January, 1615, by the main armada. The fighting force was led by the viceroy, Don Jeronimo de Azevedo; it consisted of six great galleons, ranging in size from 800 down to 400 tons, and sixty small frigates. Azevedo's fleet also carried 250 guns, 3,500

European and 6,000 native soldiers, whereas Downton's modest forced numbered only four merchantmen, 80 guns and 400 seamen.

With this glaring discrepancy in forces, the contest soon developed into a test of superior seamanship. A master of naval tactics, Downton so outwitted and befuddled his Portuguese foes off Surat that for two months he warded off a concerted Portuguese attack, despite blockades, fireboats, and minor skirmishes. On February 11, 1615, the Portuguese fleet, worn out and with supplies running short, raised sail and headed south. Having delivered a fatal blow to Portuguese prestige in India, Downton now quietly took on a cargo at Surat and set sail for the southern islands.

The Portuguese retreat sealed the hold of the English in India and won the friendship of the mogul, who welcomed the English as his deliverers. Thus, by outwitting the Portuguese, Downton and Best had unwittingly flung open the doors of Surat to English trade. The English military victory was soon followed by the opening of interior trading posts at Broach, Cambaya, Baroda, Ahmabad, and Agra, and although a general farman had not as yet been received from the mogul, yet the English were welcomed at his court, courtesies were extended, and gifts presented. Jahangir personally seemed pleased with his present of an English mastiff, who valiantly fought off wild beasts in the open arena where contests were staged for the amusement of the court. Annoyed by the favors extended by the mogul to Englishmen, the Portuguese fathers who remained at court resorted to even greater intrigues, insinuations, and hostile actions.

To circumvent their activities, to enhance the prestige of England at Agra, and to procure commercial concessions, the London Company at this juncture adopted a new policy. This was to send "a man of extraordinaire partes to reside at Agra, to prevent any plottes that may be wrought by the Jesuits." For this delicate task, a member of a well-known London family, Sir Thomas Roe, who had traveled extensively in South America, was selected. Roe is described in the language of the day as a man "of pregnant understanding, well-spoken, learned, industrious, and of comelie personage." An old portrait of Roe discloses a man of courtliness, dignity,

and fine bearing, a man whose countenance reveals integrity and strength, tempered by mildness and good humor.

Sir Thomas was allowed while in India a salary of £600 a year, another £100 being donated for plate, £50 for a chaplain, and £24 for a surgeon. Although King James had sanctioned Roe's appointment to India, yet he contributed nothing toward the expenses of his visit. He did strive to impress on Roe, however, the fact that he should emphasize to the mogul the greatness of James and the naval strength of England. The commission issued by the king to Roe upon his departure empowered him to conduct in the interests of amity and commerce full negotiations with the mogul.

On January 24, 1615, Roe left England on the flagship *Lion* for his new post in India. The expedition with which he sailed was the third fleet of the first joint-stock venture, under Captain Keeling, and included, in addition to the *Lion*, the *Dragon*, the *Peppercorne*, and the *Expedition*. Toward the middle of September, Keeling sighted Swally roadstead where preparations were made to land in a style befitting an English ambassador.

The arrival of Sir Thomas Roe at Surat on September 25 was announced by the roar of forty-eight pieces of ordnance from his ship, and when he stepped ashore he was surrounded by his officers in full dress, eighty armed men, and the ships' bands playing their gayest airs. He was welcomed by the native officer of the port, who was seated with thirty of his followers on a fine carpet under an elaborate awning. Roe explained his mission: to perpetuate friendship and peace between their respective nations. Disregarding his rank, the officer replied that he must search Roe and his men before they could proceed further, Roe, incensed at this petty indignity, refused with the remark that his status of ambassador exempted him from such search. Returning to his ship, he remained there in seclusion until this order was revoked.

The indignities suffered by Englishmen at the customhouse at Surat, from which no one, no matter what his rank, escaped, had long been a point of contention in India. Walter Payton describes his experiences at Surat, when he went ashore on September 22 to prepare a house in advance for Sir Thomas Roe; he relates "how

he and his friends were narrowly searched, their pockets and other parts according to the base manner of the country, where a man must pay custom for a riall of eight * in his purse, or a good knife in his pocket, and if any raritie appeare, the governor under pretext of buying, take it away." Payton's account provides an illuminating commentary on the manners of the times, the petty rapacity of officialdom, and the insatiable appetite among Indians of rank for all kinds of novelties and toys. Further insults were offered to the English ambassador by the governor of Surat, Zulfikar Khan, who failed for some time to pay his official visit and who, when he finally arrived, seemed interested only in what presents the King had sent him.

These preliminary difficulties indicated what Sir Thomas Roe was to meet throughout his sojourn in India. To an Englishman of pride and rank, trained to the fine ways of diplomacy, such petty restrictions as were encountered at the port of Surat were unspeakably taxing. Sir Thomas questioned for a time the desirability of the English continuing on in India. "So base are conditions at this port," he writes, "and subject to so many slaveries such as no free heart can endure, that I do resolve either to establish a trade on free conditions, or do my best to dissuade it. For no profit can be a good penny worth so much dishonor, the person of every man landing locked up and searched like a thief, sometimes two days for any man to pass the river, a poor bottle of wine sent to the sick detained, and every trifle ransacked and taken away with insufferable insolences." The ambassador was justified in writing thus bitterly, for even the presents and supplies for his journey to Agra were held in the customs until they were damaged.

In addition to the mogul, Roe encountered three powerful men in India. The first of these was Prince Khurram, the mogul's son, who owned certain lands and revenues that included the port of Surat; the second was the prince's representative, Zulfikar Khan, governor of Surat, who handled his revenues. The mogul was inclined to be pro-English, but the prince and the governor were on the whole pro-Portuguese. The third figure of importance was

* Apparently eight reales, the Spanish peso or dollar.

Mukarrab Khan, former governor of Gujarat, the province in which lay the city of Surat, and a man of wide power and influence in western India.

Having completed the annoying formalities at Surat, Roe began his long journey overland to the mogul's court, located temporarily at Ajmere. Traveling with a heavily armed escort, carrying water and supplies on clumsy bullocks, pitching tent at night, when a vigilant watch was kept for brigands, Roe found the journey both difficult and laborious. Skirting the Tapti beyond Surat, the ambassador first visited the army quarters of the mogul at Burhanpur, where he visited Jahangir's son, Prince Parviz, who cordially granted him a farman to establish an English factory at this point. His friendly courtesy was a solace to Roe, who was low-spirited, being ill with a tropical fever.

Progressing slowly, toward the end of December Roe reached the wooded hills of Ajmere. Too weak for official tasks, his audience with the Mogul was deferred until January, when on the fourth he delivered King James's letter and gifts. Of these, the English coach into which the monarch climbed with childish glee and had Roe's English retainers pull him through the halls, proved especially acceptable. At the mogul's court Roe soon learned that he was dealing with an alien race, with men of baffling, inscrutable moods.

The mogul ruler whom Roe had traveled so far to visit was Akbar's son, Selim, known as Jahangir, conqueror of the world. Lacking the administrative gifts, the tolerance, the vision of his noted father, Jahangir was indolent, weak, and vacillating. His reign was marked by a series of wars in southern India, by constant troubles with the Portuguese, and above all else by difficulties with his own sons. In fact, the domestic relations of Jahangir caused so much discord at his court that they constantly affected his attitude toward England.

The mogul quarreled constantly with his heir, Prince Khusru, a popular and engaging youth, who favored Christians, and whom he kept in semicaptivity, transferring his royal favors to his third son, Prince Khurram—later known as Emperor Shah Jehan—with

whom Roe had many difficulties. The English ambassador found the latter prince an enigma. "I never saw," he writes, "so settled a countenance, nor any man keep so constant a gravity, never smiling, nor in face showing any respect or difference of men, but mingled with extreme pride and contempt of all." Roe found the opposition of Prince Khurram to his ventures a barrier to success at the mogul's court at Ajmere.

At Ajmere, the mogul's citadel located in the mountains, Jahangir reigned supreme amid regal splendor, receiving his guest from his throne placed high up in a luxurious gallery, heavily decked with silks and velvets, and surrounded by a watch-guard of armed women. At the mogul's court Roe soon discovered he had entered a strange new world, a land without codes, or laws, a land governed by a king's whims and pleasures. Though evidences of religion, of priests and temples, were apparent on every hand, yet the manners of the court verged on barbarism. Here, too, Roe saw appalling discrepancies on all sides; he saw a court where nobles lived in lavish ostentation, but where the poor existed in the utmost poverty. He saw a mogul, who possessed one of the great fortunes of his century, a fortune derived from customs duties, gifts, and confiscation of the estates of deceased subjects, yet who practised the most petty economies. Such contrasts stirred to its depths Roe's honest British soul. "This is the dullest, basest place I ever saw," he observes, "and maketh me weary of speaking of it. I never believed a prince so famed could live so mean."

From the day he landed at Surat the British envoy had also to withstand the wiles and the subterfuges of the Portuguese Jesuits, whose animosity, bitterness, and chicanery were incessant. What the Portuguese say of the king and our nation is so slanderous, remarks Roe, that it *perit sua mole*—dies of its own weight. Unfortunately for Roe, the fathers had the mogul's full confidence; Jahangir consulted them constantly about his affairs, asked them questions about England and the power of James, and then confided to them that he mistrusted a race "where a King sent presents of so small value when he looked for jewels."

To meet this situation, Roe's diplomacy, a diplomacy that was

put to the test time and again not only by the endless intrigues, but by the treachery, insinuations, and open defiance of the Portuguese, those Portuguese "who with bragging insolences talk against us," was called constantly into play. Roe tried to deal with the Portuguese in an open-handed manner; one of his first acts was a gesture of friendliness and peace toward the Portuguese viceroy at Goa, to whom on October 22, 1615, he wrote the following amicable letter from Surat regarding peaceable trade relations:

"In these territories of the Mogul and neighboring princes there is enough for both if avarice does not blind all reason in your Excellence. It is not the purpose of the English to root out or hinder your trade, but to continue their own in friendship and we will be ready as Christians to do you any courtesy or assistance your Excellence or nation may want." The viceroy, however, failed to reply to Roe's communication, thus effectually checking all English efforts toward a mutual feeling of good will.

Unlike their Portuguese antagonists, the English had entered India not with imperialistic or religious aims, but as peaceful traders with instructions from their king and their London directors to refrain, except as a last resort, from the use of force. Had Portuguese co-operation been possible, the frank, generous-minded Roe would undoubtedly have procured it.

What Roe tried so vainly to acquire in India in the face of Portuguese opposition were certain definite concessions backed by a permit from the mogul rather than temporary farmans. What England sought was the right to enter all Indian ports, permission to found factories, a fair and equable administration of customs duties, free trade with the natives, and protection from abuse by Portuguese merchants. Though Jahangir time and again led Roe to believe that these terms would be granted, yet he failed to put them in writing.

Notwithstanding, Roe felt that he had won the esteem and friendship of the mogul; for he writes:

"I stand on very fickle terms though in extraordinary grace with the King, who is gentle, soft, and good of disposition; yet on points and dispute with an insolent and proud son of his, into whose

hands he hath remitted all power, which he is neither worthy nor able to manage. He, Khurram, is lord of our port, Surat, and by his folly gives me so much travail, so sordidly ambitious that he would not have me acknowledge his father King, nor make any address, nor deliver any presents nor compliments of honor but to himself."

Roe's chief antagonist at court proved to be this same young Prince Khurram who, unfortunately for English interests, controlled the entire revenue of the port of Surat. On January 22, Roe visited the young prince and future emperor, and laid before him certain grievances suffered by Englishmen in lands under his jurisdiction—the imprisonment of young factors at Ahmadabad, the extra taxes placed on goods passing from town to town, the indignities suffered at Surat. These, Roe insisted, must be righted. The prince concurred, promising to issue farmans to this effect.

Meanwhile the young factors at the port were asking Roe to procure redress from the Mogul for indignities inflicted on them at Surat, abuse "so intolerable that never any Christians endured the like from enemies." From them Roe now learned that the Company's goods were being pilfered from the warehouse, or retained for exorbitant customs; that the men themselves were being robbed; and that constant bribes and presents had failed to pacify the rapacious officials at Surat.

Weary of the tactics of Prince Khurram, who, abetted by his intriguing adviser, Asaf Khan, consistently deferred his promised protection to English citizens, on March 4 Roe wrote pointedly to the prince:

"It seems to me that your highness is weary of the English at Surat, or else you would not refuse to deliver me a farman for their safety and good usage, but upon dishonorable conditions, and such as I cannot answer. Therefore I desire your highness to give me a plain answer, which I require in the name of the King of England, being a friend and confederate of your most royal father. For if your highness be resolved that they shall have no better justice than they had, my master is likewise resolved not to have his sub-

jects live where they shall be injured, but we will seek some other residence where we shall be better welcome."

Unable, even by this urgent appeal, to secure the prince's support at Surat, Roe turned in despair to the king. Approaching him in his audience chamber, he explained how certain situations made trade impossible, and how his son, in whose territory the English had suffered many abuses, had failed to rectify these injustices. The king seemed on the point of supporting English claims when an unfavorable coincidence occurred. The rascally Asaf Khan leaned over and attempted to push the English interpreter from the room. Not succeeding, he winked at the king, indicating that he should refuse. This angered the King, who, calling his son, "chidd him roundly," then terminated the audience. For some time subsequent attempts to procure an interview at court met with failure.

During festival week, Roe was admitted once more into Jahangir's presence. He used this opportunity to tell the mogul "how he had now been here more than two months, more than one of which was passed in sickness, and the other in compliments and nothing effected toward the end for which my master had sent me, which was to conclude a firm and constant peace between their majesties and to establish a fair and secure trade and residence for my countrymen."

The king replied that already certain farmans had been granted. Roe responded by saying that such edicts were not only inadequate, but entirely temporary in character. The king then asked what gifts the English would send if he granted what they desired. Roe answered with masterly tact that the English would not send common things like jewels, such as the Portuguese gave, but rare treasures, paintings, carvings, costly objects unknown in India, made of copper, brass, and stone. Finally Jahangir, who appeared dissatisfied, replied that what he desired above all else was an English horse. Although fairly certain that a horse would never survive the long sea voyage out to India, Roe promised to send him one from England. Because of the Portuguese habit of lavishing jewels and costly gifts on the mogul, "the King regards no

trades," writes Roe to his London chief, Sir Thomas Smythe, "but what feeds his insatiable appetite after stones, rich and rare pieces of any kind of art."

Negotiations for definite agreements to replace sporadic, indefinite farmans, moved slowly. Impatient of delay, and dubious of the final outcome, the English ambassador wrote frankly to the factors at Surat:

"The continuing of this trade consists principally of two points, our good reception and privileges to be obtained, and the vent of our commodities. Without the one we cannot abide with honor, without the other we will not, to no profit. The king respects us very well and is ready to grant all reasonable demands; the prince dislikes us. Thus my opinion is, seeing our state cannot bear the exportation of money, except some new trade can be discovered from the East to serve this Kingdom, it must fall to the ground by the weakness of its own legs."

Throughout his sojourn at Ajmere, Roe was constantly in touch with the factors at Surat. Relations between them were not always wholly amicable, for the young factors down at the port resented the advent of Roe with his ambassadorial trappings. Moreover, as many of them were conducting a private trade by lending the Company's money on their own account, they feared too close surveillance. Of their antipathy and arrogance Roe remarks dejectedly, "They take more pleasure to argue than to execute and to show their wit and authority than to yield to anything not their own compounding."

While Roe was corresponding with the factors, he received word that the spring fleet that had reached Surat had been attacked en route by Portuguese ships, carrying the viceroy of Goa. Roe carried this information to the Jesuit father at Ajmere, pleading with him in the name of humanity to mediate with the viceroy to prevent fresh hostilities. "I hope not in the successe," writes Roe, "but I would not the fayling were on my part."

Having made piratical raids on the coastal ships of India merchants, the Portuguese were now temporarily in disfavor at court; as the breach widened, Roe decided to approach Prince Khurram

with the suggestion that since the Portuguese were their common enemy, the English might aid him with their ships. At the same time Roe asked for a site to fortify in the event of open war.

In his journal Roe records Prince Khurram's reply: "He answered with scorn that his father nor he needed not our assistance; he meant not warr with the Portugal for our sakes, neyther would ever deliver any fort to us, to receive his own at our courtesye, if we came as merchants we were welcome; we had Surat for our port; we weare seated in Amadavaz, Brampore, Barock, Adsmere, Agra, and Lahore, as any other city was free for us to abyde, buy and sell; in what could we in reason demand more. 'I replied all those places were inland, and at Surat no safety for our ships.' He returned quick that other port would not be given in that manner, nor the Portugalls never required it."

Having failed with the prince, Roe turned again to Jahangir. At court both the mogul and wily Asaf Khan, anticipating more English gifts, since the new fleet was now in port, proved singularly gracious. Roe's discourse in fact was soon interrupted by the inevitable query, "What hath the King sent me?" Abandoning for a time diplomatic procedure, Roe met Jahangir on his own ground. Gifts of toys, French velvets, a muff, and various art treasures brought in by the spring fleet soon mellowed not only the mogul, but Prince Khurram, and Asaf Khan, who promised before the entire court to give "all reasonable contest." "Such," laments Roe, "is the strength of new presents."

Unfortunately, a fresh menace now beset the harassed Roe. In the summer of 1616, a Dutch ship hove into the port of Surat, carrying a heavy cargo of spices and a large supply of cash for trading purposes; she brought word that a large Dutch fleet would soon follow. The arrival of this fleet at Surat distressed the English colony, who feared "either of their purpose to do some spoyle on the coast in revenge of certain debts owing, or of settling a factory in India where they would both out-present, out-bribe, and out-buy us in all things."

When word of the arrival of a Dutch flotilla reached Roe at Ajmere, he attempted to dissuade Khurram from allowing them to

trade at his port. Khurram, however, unmoved by his pleas, allowed the Dutch to land, and to establish a factory at Surat. The Dutch were now actually ensconced in the very land where the English had hoped to trade unhampered by their ruthless competition.

Meanwhile Roe made an unsuccessful attempt with the mogul to consummate a royal treaty with England. His failure to negotiate such an agreement may be attributed to two causes: the control by the unfriendly prince of the key port of Surat, and the reluctance of the mogul to sign a treaty pertaining solely to trade, which offered so few personal perquisites. One of the richest monarchs of the Orient, Jahangir remained at all times comparatively indifferent to the prestige and power of England. India to him was the entire universe; England had nothing to offer that aroused either his zeal, cupidity, or friendship.

From the day he had first set foot in India, Roe had been fully aware of the hazards and uncertainties of his mission. This is reflected in the letters sent back to the London Company in England, cautious missives that reveal the unsoundness of Anglo-Indian relations. Forth, he writes, are not needed in India, the expense being out of proportion to the results; nor should many factors be sent to inland cities, except to the important trading posts of Surat, Cambaya, Broach, and Ahmadabad, where such commodities as broadcloth, lead, quicksilver, vermilion, wine, pearls, rubies, cloth of gold, embroidered shirts of mail, gloves, scarfs, and other luxuries can be purchased.

Although repeated requests had been made by the ambassador to be allowed to return to England, Roe was forced to remain three years in India. On February 17, 1619, he set sail from Surat on the *Anne*. Although the general treaty Roe had offered to the mogul had been rejected, yet from his long sojourn at court certain indirect benefits had been derived. The position of the English, for instance, had been materially strengthened. Certain local farmans had been procured from Prince Khurram for the port of Surat, permits in which the prince, now anti-Portuguese, even acknowledged his friendship for England, promising to aid them if attacked by the enemy, granting them the right to trade, guaranteeing to correct

all customs irregularities, and allowing factors to hire, but not to buy, a house for a factory at Surat.

Upon returning to England after his strange adventures in India, Roe was regally feted by King James at Hampton Court, where he presented the king with trophies from India—a curious red deer, two antelope, a rich tent, carpets, and umbrellas—all sent by the mogul. But the greatest gift Roe brought back to England was the increased honor and esteem felt for the British flag at the mogul's court.

Isles of the Rising Sun

A DECADE had now passed since the first ships dispatched to the Orient by the London Company had set sail for Bantam. Within this brief span of ten years six separate expeditions had been financed and outfitted in England. All six ventures, however, had been to a large degree hazardous. Several ships had been lost; scores of men had died of flux and scurvy; and profits, though at times high, were not dependable. With the single exception of Bantam, trade at minor East India ports as well as in Persia and India had proved on the whole a disappointment.

What apparently was the most pernicious obstacle to the opening up of English-Oriental commerce as disclosed by these ventures was the relentless attitude of the Company's Dutch competitors. Each new voyage upon returning to its home port from the Far East brought fresh proof of the malicious tactics of Dutch traders, whose petty acts of hostility, constant efforts to persuade the natives not to deal with English traders, and grim determination not to allow the English to procure a foothold in the Far East, had been relentless. The result was that English factors at outlying posts were restive and wary of their Dutch neighbors. In the Far East relations between English and Dutch traders had become tense and strained; each new move on the part of the aggressive Dutchmen aroused fresh suspicion and increased anxiety on the part of the Company's servants.

Back in London the directors of the young Company were forced meanwhile to watch rival Dutch traders slowly absorb the bulk of the rich traffic in spices, watch them grow more aggressive, more insolent, and more ruthless. Despite English protests, the tactics employed by Dutch factors were achieving their end. In this dilemma

only two alternatives lay open to the London Company. The first was to enlist governmental aid and support, send out more and larger ships, and by a display of superior strength, force the Dutch into the background. Unfortunately this course was slow, uncertain, and costly; furthermore, it carried with it the danger of open hostilities. The second alternative was to withdraw English factors from the leading spice ports, push farther east, and attempt to trade with Siam, Japan, and China. This latter plan was the policy now formally adopted by the Company.

While the London directors were devising ways and means to save their Oriental shipping, simultaneously the way was being quietly paved for English commerce out in Japan. Unknown to the London Company, an Englishman had been residing for several years at the Japanese capital, where he had won many friends. How this Englishman reached the mikado's court is a fantastic story. In 1598, two years before the London Company was founded, a British adventurer, Will Adams, shipped as pilot on a Dutch trading fleet, the *Liefde*, and after a long series of hardships reached the remote shores of Japan. Here what was left of the *Liefde's* crew—twenty-four gaunt and emaciated men—staggered ashore. Among those who managed to reach the court of the shogun, Iyeyasu, was the English pilot, Will Adams.

To Europeans of this period, Japan was an unknown and mysterious land. Although certain vague tales had been published about it by a Venetian traveler, Marco Polo, who had lived for a time at the Chinese court, yet Marco Polo had never actually visited these strange islands, called by the Chinese because of their location toward the east, "Land of the Rising Sun." Thus, long after Portuguese and Spanish ships were sailing to the far corners of the globe, to the Americas, the Indies, the Philippines, and the Spice Islands, Japan remained aloof from contact with the European world. Finally, in 1542, a Portuguese China-bound junk, blown off its course, put in at Kyushu, one of its southern islands, and in the decade following this chance discovery of the Japanese islands, a flourishing trade sprang up between Portugal and Japan.

In those days Portuguese ships usually carried on board Jesuit, Franciscan, or Dominican fathers, without whose religious solace crews often refused to travel, men who were zealous at all times to accompany traders or explorers to pagan lands. Japan was a virgin field in which to labor for the church, and these indefatigable fathers soon began their task of converting Japanese Buddhists to the Christian faith. In 1549 one of the greatest of all Jesuit crusaders of his day, Francisco Xavier, reached Japan; within a short time he had won thousands of converts. Xavier and his followers had been courteously welcomed upon their arrival by the native Buddhist priesthood, a tolerant, pacific group, who showed keen interest in this strange foreign faith, with its saints, its sermons, and its pageants. It was not long, however, before the aggressive tactics of the Jesuits aroused the antipathy of the Japanese priests. They tried to oppose them, but they were unable to check the hordes of fathers who soon flocked to Japanese shores, where they made converts, erected churches, and founded schools for religious instruction.

Much of the Jesuit success in Japan, a success that reached its apex toward the close of the sixteenth century, is due undoubtedly to the fact that Japan was controlled at that time by a group of virile military leaders, a family of usurpers who held the reins of government, while the rightful emperor, shorn of all actual power, lived in seclusion at Kyoto. The most powerful of these militarists was the warrior Toyotomi Hideyoshi, an Oriental Napoleon who for a time appeared to welcome Portuguese priests and traders.

Then the tide turned. Serious trouble between Christians and Buddhists first began in the islands when a band of Dominican and Franciscan fathers, residents of the neighboring Spanish settlement at Manila, entered Japan, bent on winning converts. Despite the papal bull of 1493 that had awarded to Portugal the exclusive right to trade with Japan, the militant and fervent fathers merely scoffed at national barriers. Making their way to Hideyoshi's court, they soon ingratiated themselves with the ruler.

Meanwhile quarrels, arguments, and disputes between Portuguese and Spanish priests over their respective rights to preach in

Japan increased. It was not long before their quarrels had grown so acrimonious and had gained so much unpleasant notoriety that Hideyoshi began to look with disfavor on their conduct. The situation had already grown tense when a new source of discord developed, caused by the advent of a Spanish galleon that had been wrecked off Japanese shores and its goods confiscated.

Incensed, the galleon's pilot, who had reached shore, called for a map, and on it indicated to local officials the power of Spain and the extent of her territory. Curious bystanders asked how the king of Spain had acquired so much land. First missionaries arrive, the irate pilot replied, then warships follow. His words enraged Hideyoshi, who was already losing faith in foreigners. Visualizing warships in the wake of priests and the loss of his kingdom, the military leader ordered the massacre of all fathers who failed to leave immediately. By Hideyoshi's edict many priests were burned at the stake. Many more, hidden by their Japanese converts, returned later to their parishes, where they continued quietly to preach and spread the tenets of Catholicism.

By 1600, the year Will Adams piloted the *Liefde* into port, another military leader, Iyeyasu, the shogun who had succeeded Hideyoshi, ruled Japan. During his regime the status of foreigners in Japan was at the crossroads. The lower and middle classes, although drastically opposed on the whole to the priesthood, desired foreign commerce and foreign contacts; the governing class, on the other hand, feared foreign intervention.

At this psychological moment Will Adams reached Japan. The arrival of a new type of foreigner, an Englishman who came without priests, provided a new diversion. Adams, through Jesuit interpreters, was rigidly cross-examined at Iyeyasu's castle. He was asked why Englishmen leave home for foreign shores. Adams graciously replied that the English were a race who sought friendship with all nations in the interests of commerce.

Notwithstanding the wiles of Portuguese interpreters, who warned Iyeyasu that the English were a race of thieves, pirates, and robbers, the genial ways of Will Adams won the friendship of the shogun. Urging the foreigner to stay on indefinitely in Japan, Iye-

yasu promised him lands and an annual revenue in return for his advice on political, economic, and personal problems. Adams accepted this offer with alacrity. Soon he was not only teaching Iyeyasu the principles of mathematics and geometry, but was also supervising the construction, along English lines, of two large vessels for his navy.

Adams adjusted himself readily to his long years of exile at the Japanese court. His impressions of his Japanese friends, whom he came to esteem and love, are revealed in one of his letters written to friends in England. "The people of this island of Japan," he writes, "are of good nature, courteous above measure, and valiant in warre; their justice is severely executed without any partialitie upon transgressors of the law. They are governed in great civilitie."

While Will Adams, now a permanent resident of Japan, was ingratiating himself with the shogun to such an extent that Iyeyasu refused to allow him to return to England, the London Company, who had heard by this time of his sojourn in Japan from the Dutch, was laying plans to send English ships out beyond the Spice Islands. In 1610 the Company's seventh venture, consisting of the solitary ship, the *Globe*, Captain Anthony Hippon, set sail from England for the Far East, and in April, 1612, reached Bantam. While the *Globe* was in port, a Dutch brig hailing from Japan came in, bringing a letter from Will Adams addressed to English merchants residing in Java. This communication, which was subsequently forwarded to England, gave enthusiastic reports of Japan's commercial future.

Hippen's ship failed to reach Japanese waters; at Patani, on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula, her captain died of a tropical fever. After his death, the remaining officers on board decided to establish an English factory at this port, where eight factors off the *Globe* were left in charge. From Patani, the *Globe* now steered a course for Siam, where the merchants learned what commercial opportunities were open in Siam, Japan, and China. They ascertained that at Siam, benjamin (a resin used in making perfume) and rich jewels were procurable; that at Borneo, diamonds of all

known types and colors were to be had; that at Chinese ports trade was primarily in velvets, silks, and porcelains; that at Japan hemp, oil, vermilion, and silks were the leading products. What all these countries desired primarily from Europe proved to be firearms, lead, tin, copper, and miscellaneous household articles. With this information, the *Globe*, having extended the field of English activities to Patani and Siam, sailed home to England.

The eighth expedition sent out to the Orient by the London Company accomplished what the seventh had failed to achieve. This new fleet, in command of General John Saris, was one of the strongest assembled up to that time. Three staunch ships, the *Clove*, *Hector*, and *Thomas*, made up the venture, which carried orders to attempt if possible to reach Japan. To assist the Company to open up commerce in the Isles of the Rising Sun, Saris carried personal letters from King James addressed to the Japanese ruler, couched in the usual flattering and flowery language of this period.

Saris had been instructed to touch first at Mocha; and for protection he also carried what was called a letter or patent from the Turkish authorities at Constantinople, guaranteeing him safe conduct in Arabia. With the aid of this patent Saris was on the point of concluding satisfactory negotiations for the opening of English trade at Mocha when he learned of the piratical tactics of Henry Middleton, in command of the sixth fleet, off Bab el Mandeb. Saris now sailed down to meet his countryman.

The meeting of the two generals which took place aboard Middleton's ship, the *Trades Increase*, was far from amicable. On the one hand Saris had hoped to establish trade with Turkey, which controlled at this time the port of Mecca; Middleton, to the contrary, incensed and outraged at the recent conduct of the Turks toward his expedition, was determined to disrupt Indian-Turkish traffic by capturing Turkish vessels home-bound with India cargoes. A written pact was finally concluded between the two generals, who agreed to trade jointly and peaceably with whatever Indian ships passed near Aden, Sir Henry being allowed two-thirds of the trade for the stockholders of his venture, and Saris the balance.

Owing to this unforeseen complication, Saris believed that further negotiations with the Turks, or even Indians, would probably prove futile. "Because of the brabbles and jarres," he writes, "that happened betwixt Sir Henrie, the Turks, and the Cambayans, our hope of any trade to be had at Surat was as small as that we had already found at Mocha." Some desultory trade was now carried on in the Red Sea, then the combined fleets, spreading sail, moved on toward Java.

In the fall of 1612, the ships reached Bantam, where a lively pepper trade was found to be in full sway. As each English ship came into port, pepper and cloves soared to dizzy peaks in anticipation of keen competition by the factors of rival vessels. With pepper at three times its normal value, the generals knew that only a slight profit could accrue to the English shareholders whose interests they represented.

The one way to avoid future competition between factors representing separate ventures seemed to be to open up new markets. With this end in view the coterie of English generals and factors who had assembled at Bantam took council together. At this time the letter from Will Adams in Japan was read again, begging "that they might take notice of the hopes of that country." The information about Japan contained in his letter came at a propitious moment, for English trade both at Bantam and on the neighboring Spice Islands was growing less and less profitable. "The Flemmings," Saris wrote home at this time, "are strong and almost sole commanders of the Moluccas and Banda. The place is unhealthfull; besides, our people dangerously disorder themselves with drink and whores ashore."

Soon the plans of General Saris took concrete shape. Dispatching two ships, the *Hector* and the *Thomas*, lightly loaded with what pepper had been purchased, to England, for the general believed that the price of spices might go even higher if more English and Dutch ships reached Bantam, Saris embarked on the *Clove*, whose hold was piled with Javanese pepper destined for the Japanese markets, and headed east by way of the Spice Islands. Saris had hoped

to take on some cloves en route to Japan, but so bitter was the Hollanders' "spight" at all island ports that the natives, dreading subsequent revenge from irate Dutch residents, refused to sell to English vessels.

On June 11, 1613, the *Clove*, carrying seventy-four Englishmen, a Spaniard, a Japanese, and five Indians, anchored off the town of Hirado, on Kyushu Island. At Hirado, Saris was cordially welcomed by the local ruler, or daimyo, the aged Foyne Sama, whom he honored at an elaborate banquet held aboard the *Clove*.

When the news spread that an English ship had reached port for the first time, Ange, as Will Adams was locally known, left the capital, Yedo or Tokyo, for Hirado to greet Saris. Meanwhile swarms of curious Japanese, carrying gifts of fruit, fish, fowl, and wild boars' meat, visited the *Clove*, where their inquisitive and impertinent ways seemed to annoy the ship's staid captain, General Saris. Although he received the elite of Hirado with a distinct lack of enthusiasm, yet he was obviously annoyed by the groups of chattering geishas who came aboard the *Clove*, inspecting every nook and corner of the vessel.

The extent of Portuguese religious instruction in Japan proved highly illuminating, as well as amusing, to the general. On the wall of his private cabin Saris had hung a print of Cupid and Venus which, much to his amazement, the Japanese women who came aboard mistook for the Virgin and child, and knelt down before it, making the sign of the cross. Upon inquiry, Saris ascertained that these women were Catholic converts who had been won over to Christianity by the Portuguese fathers. He also learned to his dismay that the fathers had not confined their teachings solely to ecclesiastical topics. The Japanese had been taught to believe that the English were a race of pirates and adventurers. "Our English nation," writes Saris, "hath long been known by report among them, but much scandalled by the Portugals Jesuites, as Pyrats and Rovers upon the seas, so that the naturals have a song which they call the English Crofonia, shewing how the English doe take the Spanish ships, which they singing doe act likewise in jesture with their

cattans by their sides with which song and acting they terrifie and skare their children."

This antipathy toward England on the part of the Spanish-Portuguese priests was not unexpected. Neither was Saris surprised by the antagonism of Dutch competitors established there since 1609. The Dutch united in lowering the prices of all commodities. It was an old method that seldom failed to disturb competitors and it prevented the English from trading in woolens, which the Dutch also carried. The result was that the prices of wares brought by Saris from England expressly for the Japanese market fell to absurdly low levels, and a profitable English-Japanese trade was ruined. Adams, who had now reached Hirado, made an urgent appeal to his friend Brower, captain of the Dutch factory, to stop these tactics, yet the latter refused to co-operate with the English to raise prices.

Unable to gain the assistance of the Dutch factors, Saris, carrying letters and gifts, left with Adams to visit Iyeyasu, who was residing at this time at Shidzuoka. To Saris this trip to Shidzuoka was an amazing experience. Of the imperial escort sent to greet him, of the journey through the pine-clad islands of the inland sea, of the sacred statue of the Buddha so large that "some of our people went into the bodie of it, and hooped and hallowed," he writes in glowing terms in his diary.

Upon reaching the imperial court, Saris delivered his gifts and credentials, then requested the right to trade throughout the kingdom of Japan. After some deliberation, certain concessions, broad in scope and highly favorable to trade, were granted to English merchants through the intercession of Will Adams.

These in substance ran as follows: "We give free license to the subjects of the King of Great Britaine, Sir Thomas Smythe, Governor and Company of the East Indian Merchants and Adventurers forever safely to come into any of our ports of our Empire of Japan with their shippes and merchandise, without any hinderance to them or their goods, and to abide, buy, sell, and barter according to their own manner with all nations, to tarry here as long as they think

good, and to depart at their pleasure." This license, which also carried freedom from customs duties, bore the great seal of the warrior Minamoto.

Saris had now secured, through the influence of Will Adams, generous concessions that Portuguese and Dutch merchants had failed to procure. Leaving the capital and retracing his route, by November he was back on the *Clove*, anchored off Hirado. Convinced not only by his visit to court, but also by the reports of Will Adams, that a factory at this port would prove profitable, an English house was now opened near that of the Dutch merchants, and eight men and three interpreters, among whom was Will Adams, were left in charge of the head factor, Richard Cocks. Cloth, woolen and cotton goods, pepper, gunpowder, and tin valued in all at more than £5,000 were then unloaded from the *Clove* and moved into the new house. Saris left final instructions for the factors to travel along the Korean coast during his absence and, if possible, to Cochin China, Siam, and China to procure trading privileges.

Having made final arrangements for the comfort and safety of the merchants who were to remain behind, Saris left Japan in the late fall of 1613 for England, fully confident, as he sailed away, that the young factory would prove a bonanza. The Japanese market, the English factors soon found, was not only capricious and unstable, but also presented many unforeseen problems. As silks were universally used in Japan, woolens failed on the whole to sell; and English colors did not please the fastidious Japanese taste. Hoping to supplement what had proved to be a weak Japanese market, several factors left for Siam and Cochin China, but again they were unsuccessful. From time to time attempts were made to negotiate with China; through the aid of prominent Chinese merchants residing at Nagasaki, the English hoped to secure a license to trade there. Although commercial privileges were promised, the Chinese never actually granted English merchants permission to enter their country.

Perhaps a more vital barrier to English success in Japan was the open enmity and aggressive tactics of the Dutch factors at Hirado.

Much of the nefarious work of the Hollanders was done under cover. Among favorite methods employed was for Dutch ships to rob Japanese junks crossing the China Sea, pose as Englishmen, and abuse their prisoners, tactics that naturally brought discredit to innocent English factors ashore. As more and more evidence of this character was uncovered, the English began to fear every move made by their Dutch neighbors at Hirado, even questioning the long-established friendship of Will Adams for their rivals, whom "we truly esteem he loveth better than us that are of his own nation."

In many ways the Dutch made life at Hirado intolerable for the inmates of the English factory, insulting them not only in their business dealings but also in their personal conduct, which was bawdy and ungovernable. Of their habits, the English factor Richard Cocks writes: "Day and night they go staggering drunk up and down the streets, slashing and cutting of each other with their knives like madmen."

Ill-feeling between the English and Dutch traders reached a new peak when seven Dutch ships appeared suddenly off Hirado and attempted to force the English out of Japan. It was only by calling on the Japanese for protection at this time that the English saved their house at the port. Dutch attempts to drive out other European traders appeared to be extending and increasing throughout the Far East, and were directed not only against Englishmen, but also against Portuguese and Spaniards. At Manila the Spanish now feared that Dutch ships would appear without warning and capture the Philippines; in India the Portuguese feared Dutch ships would disrupt their rich Goa-Ormuz traffic. Meanwhile Dutch ships were gradually driving the English from Bantam, the Moluccas, and Japan.

The gravity of this international Dutch menace was not the only complication that confronted Richard Cocks at Hirado. Internal discord among members of the English factory, where the young factors were proving troublesome and unruly, and where disputes and quarrels were frequent, was proving equally serious.

Internal conditions throughout Japan, also reacted unfavorably

on the prosperity of the English factory. Persecution of Japanese Christians and Catholic priests was continuing unabated. Civil wars that flared up between Iyeyasu and Hideyori, son of Hideyoshi and rival claimant to power, rocked Japan intermittently for two decades. A great typhoon, supposed to indicate the revenge of Portuguese Jesuits recently expelled, inundated Yedo and paralyzed all commerce for a time.

The only English wares for which there was a ready market seemed to be guns, lead, and powder. Soon unfavorable reports about the young factory began drifting back to the directors in London. These were verified, and the fact that the Japanese market was not proving a bonanza substantiated, in the report of Captain Coppindall, who visited Japan in 1615 with the *Hoseander*.

While English trading in Japan, so auspiciously begun, was stagnating for purely minor causes, in Europe the governors of the Dutch and English East India Companies had under consideration a plan for the furtherance of Oriental commerce by combining their respective groups into one great East India Company. Behind this move in addition to its commercial aspect was the added motive of throwing the combined strength of their mercantile fleets against the Portuguese and Spanish forces, now concentrated at Manila. Local grievances, however, could not be mended by long-delayed edicts from The Hague and London, or stagnant trade be revived in the face of adverse conditions.

The Hirado factory was conceded a financial failure after the more conservative members of the London Company had looked askance at the cost of this Japanese venture, at the red ink of its annual balance sheet, at the total loss of £2,000. In 1622 several factors were recalled by the home office, and on April 25, 1623, a decision was reached to abandon the English factory at Hirado. The ship *Bull*, that carried the edict to Japan, returned with the Hirado factors aboard.

The Japanese venture had proved a keen disappointment to the directors of the London Company. The generous privileges offered by the Japanese court, the hopes of an Oriental trade with Siam,

China, Cochin China, had failed to materialize. Experience had proved that even a factory begun under the most auspicious circumstances could not exist after ten years of costly experiment. What had primarily proved its death-knell was a trio of circumstances: the proximity of Dutch competition, the remoteness of Hirado from the leading Japanese cities, the general inefficiency of those in charge of the English factory. With the abandonment of their factory at Hirado the English withdrew permanently from the Japanese market. By so doing they relegated their trade directly into the hands of their Dutch rivals.

CHAPTER VI

Black Days at Amboyna

IN ADDITION TO Portuguese oppression in India and Dutch animosity at Hirado, in this same decade the London Company was forced to face the enmity of Dutch traders in and about Java, Sumatra, and the Spice Islands. Dutch antipathy was unusually bitter in the more remote parts of the Spiceries where the clove-nutmeg trade flourished—Tidore, Ternate, the Amboynas, and the Bandas—spice-bearing islands which the Dutch had at length wrested from the Portuguese merchants and from which in the first decade of the seventeenth century they were now attempting to force their English competitors.

Evidences of Portuguese occupation, notwithstanding the arrival of Dutch traders, were still apparent in and about the Spiceries. Throughout the sixteenth century Portuguese merchants had been building a chain of forts, factories, and colonies at strategic points, and many of them were still flourishing when the Dutch came to the islands. The Portuguese had made little effort to repulse Dutch competition; long years in the islands, life in the tropics, and intermarriage with the natives had demoralized the colonists, many of whom had grown so tyrannical, cruel, and violent that Portuguese crimes of this day—among them theft, murder, drunkenness, and incest—were notorious. Excesses of this character had finally alienated the respect and trust of the natives, who shortly before the Dutch arrived began to plot against them.

The hold of Portugal in the Far East was definitely shaken when the United Provinces proclaimed their independence from Spain and Portugal in 1581 and placed at their head William of Orange. With hostilities thus declared against Portugal, the East Indies were now

thrown open to Dutch shipping. Unsuccessful in their attempt to find a northern passage, Dutch navigators soon began to sail on Da Gama's time-honored trail around the Cape to India.

The first Dutchman to reach Java was Cornelius de Houtman, who brought four Dutch ships in 1596 into the port of Bantam. He found the native ruler at war with the Portuguese, came to his assistance, and for his services was awarded the right to erect a factory on the island. It was at this port that de Houtman purchased the first Dutch cargo of pepper. This was the beginning of the Dutch pepper trade; between 1595 and 1601, fifteen Dutch fleets, following in his wake, sailed to the Far East, bringing back cargoes so rich that 230 tons of gold were distributed within five years to Dutch merchants.

Prosperous as they had been, the Dutch government foresaw definite danger in isolated voyages, and soon local competitors were urged and finally forced to amalgamate into a large group. Subscribers to this new Dutch company were primarily the merchants of Amsterdam, Middleborough, Delft, Hoorn, and Rotterdam, who advanced in all about six million guilders. Unlike their London rivals, the Dutch Company was backed from the start by its own government, which had the wisdom to foresee the future political importance of a united fleet.

Its vision was soon justified; within a short time Dutch ships were capturing Portuguese strongholds throughout the Orient. After supplanting the Europeans in Java, Dutch merchants forced their way down into the Moluccas, where they were welcomed by the natives, who had been suffering for decades from Portuguese misrule. By 1605 the Dutch Company had founded factories in this area and sent agents to reside at Tidore, Banda, and Amboyna. By treaty of August 9, 1605, the local governor of Amboyna acknowledged the sovereignty of Holland, which guaranteed to protect the islanders against the Portuguese in return for the exclusive right to buy spices at their ports.

As Dutch factories multiplied, Spain felt profound concern over the international situation out in the East Indies. Faced with the loss of his richest trade, in 1605 Philip III issued an edict prohibit-

ing Hollanders under severe penalty from venturing into his domains, "privately possessed by us for more than a hundred years and which no one has the right to enter without our permission." This edict proved so ineffectual that in 1607 the Spanish monarch finally offered to renounce all claims over the United Provinces if the Dutch would withdraw from the East Indies. Still the Dutch proved obstinate. But with the destruction of the Spanish fleet by the Dutch off Gibraltar, the spice trade was definitely won for Holland. And so by 1609 when a truce that terminated a thirty-year war was finally signed by Spain, Portugal, and the United Provinces, the Dutch were already permanently entrenched throughout the major islands of the East Indies.

The Dutch originally adopted as their Far Eastern slogan: Exclusive control of the spice trade for Holland, a policy from which they never swerved. This was the policy urged by the Dutch Company in an early letter to its first governor-general, Pieter Both, to whom they wrote, "The commerce of the Moluccas, Amboyna, and the Bandas should belong to the company and no other nation in the world should be allowed to have the least part."

To achieve their goal, the Dutch concentrated their activities on the Spice Islands, home of the nutmeg and clove, where they soon won the confidence of native traders by posing as their friends and allies. Assisted by these Hollanders, native rulers gradually forced their Portuguese enemies off their islands, rewarding their new allies, the Dutch, by giving them the exclusive right to buy local spices. By reconditioning old Portuguese forts, and by founding new factories, within a short time Dutch merchants had established flourishing trading posts at major spice ports, where factors and agents were encouraged to bring out their wives, children, and relatives, and found permanent settlements. This was the reverse of the London Company's policy, which for a time prohibited English women from living at its East India factories. After alliances had been made with native princes by these Dutch traders, the amount paid for spices was then gradually lowered until native planters, in order to subsist, were frequently forced to borrow against future crops from their Dutch brokers. By this method

Dutch merchants acquired control of the islands, a control that could not be broken.

Certain islands where spices grew in extraordinary profusion were especially popular with Dutch merchants. They included the rich but almost inaccessible Latore, with cliffs rising precipitously from the water; Pulaway, a kind of miniature nutmeg paradise; its neighbors Pularoon and Amboyna, queen of the Spiceries. Bachan, with its ships' timber, was also an important port of call, as was Macan, where was grown what was locally known as the king's clove, a superfine variety commanding a ready market. Other major points where Dutch interests centered were Tidore and Ternate, whose native rulers had long been rivals and whose age-old animosities made them vulnerable to overtures on the part of Dutch and English traders, who procured trade privileges by the simple expedient of guaranteeing to save them from their respective rivals.

While the London Company, inadequately financed and without governmental backing, was sending out weak fleets at infrequent intervals, the Dutch were dispatching flotillas of strong fleets regularly to the East Indies, defeating the Portuguese, occupying their forts, making treaties with native rulers, and gradually procuring a monopoly of the spice markets. For a brief period Dutch and English merchants stationed in the East Indies were on a friendly footing, standing together against their Catholic competitor, Portugal. Difficulties first arose when competitive bidding by Dutch and English factors raised the price of pepper at Bantam. Then, as each new English ship hove into port, Chinese brokers, anticipating a new wave of competitive bidding, raised the prices of spices stored in their warehouses. The Dutch, annoyed by this procedure, *attempted to prevent the English from trading at inter-island ports*, where English ships took on loads of spices, and at the more isolated clove and nutmeg ports they resorted to threats, intimidations, and bribes to restrain the natives from selling direct to English vessels. For a time these tactics were carried on surreptitiously by Dutch agents, usually with an outward semblance of friendship toward the English.

But when Captain Keeling in 1609 and Captain Middleton in

1610 were peremptorily ordered by agents of the Dutch East India Company to cease trading in the Bandas, the international situation began, for the first time, to assume a serious aspect. A petition reporting this episode was sent in 1611 to the Lord Treasurer, by the Merchants of London trading to the East Indies, in which redress was asked for insults offered to David Middleton at the main island of Banda. The report said that "Captain Davyd Middleton in the Expedition seeking trade at Banda and using his best endeavors both by guifts and psuasions, and comodityes could not be permitted by them for any comerce, either with themselves or the island, but with many reproachfull, insolent speches, was forciblye put from all trading in those parts, except what he gott with strong hand against ther wylles, from other broken island neare adioyning, with extreame hazard and dangr, they devising and often times attempting to surprise by fire, and cut off by any directed meanes both shippe, men, and goodes."

Roused to action by the appeal of his merchants, King James sent an official protest of the treatment by Dutch traders of English merchants in the Spiceries, across the channel to Holland, a protest that proved, for the most part, ineffectual. Meanwhile, Dutch discourtesy to English vessels and factors out in the East Indies continued to increase daily. Finally, in 1613, as the result of repeated complaints from England, the noted Dutch jurist, Hugo Grotius, and three commissioners were sent to London to attempt to adjust English-Dutch differences. The year before Grotius had published his celebrated volumes *Mare Librum*, or a *Discourse concerning the right which the Hollanders claim of trade to India*, and was conceded to be the leading Dutch authority on international jurisprudence. The debate of Grotius in London hinged on the vital point of *Mare Librum*, the freedom of the seas, which England insisted was the pivot on which her international trade revolved, a fundamental point which the Dutch, out in the Spiceries, remote from European laws, and with a monopoly of the lucrative spice commerce, failed to recognize and observe. The English-Dutch conference, having failed to solve its problems or to provide a meeting ground for England and Holland in the Orient, finally

dissolved. Two years later, in 1615, another English commission met with the Dutch in Holland. This, like the first, was unsuccessful in adjusting the problem of respective rights in the Spiceries.

During these debates, the attitude of King James, who consistently withheld royal support, either political, financial, or moral, to the London merchants in their disagreements with Dutch traders, placed the London Company in an awkward situation. Discouraged over the attitude of James and the failure of the Dutch conferences, the Company had no alternative but to recall its ships from the Orient, or to fight the Dutch with their own weapons.

The London merchants, on the other hand, were fully aware of a situation to which James seemed blind: that international flames were slowly igniting in the Orient. The Company knew that year after year the Dutch, unchecked in the East, were growing bolder, more insolent, more intolerable; that, after 1616, they were sending messages to the English factors at Bantam, ordering them not to send any more ships to Amboyna, Banda, or the Moluccas; that English and Dutch factors were clashing openly at the spice ports; that English merchants, seeking cargoes, were ridiculed, taunted, and fired upon when they came ashore; that even the English flag was being insulted.

Throughout the Far East, minor brawls, bordering on actual fights, now began to occur with amazing frequency down around Amboyna, the Bandas, Pulaway, and Bantam. Then in 1616, the English ships *Defense* and *Swan*, incensed at Dutch tactics, captured Pularoon from the Hollanders. In retaliation the *Swan* in turn was unexpectedly seized by the Dutch as she was taking on water, and her men placed in jail. As word of these recurring riots drifted home to England, the London Company began to consider how to strengthen its position in the Far East.

A move of major importance made at this time by the London Company was to appoint a president to represent them in the Far East, with headquarters at Java. The first president sent by the Company to Java was John Jourdain, whose task was to fortify and consolidate English investments in the Far East. Jourdain was a man of ripe judgment and wide experience. Since 1612 he had been

traveling for the Company among the island ports of Java, Sumatra, and the Spice Islands; having experienced the outrageous conduct of the Dutch, he had grown to dislike all Hollanders. In the Spiceries he had also learned from his own personal experience how the Dutch secretly undersold their English competitors, how they bribed the natives, and how they maligned all Britishers. "These Dutch," he writes sagely in his journal, "are invariably seeking by subtiltye to hold us underhand with faire words to beat the bushe, while they would cunningly carrye away the birds."


Jourdain's bitterness toward Hollanders came from a series of first-hand encounters with Dutch tactics. His first experience with Dutch ways had occurred in the spring of 1613 at the port of Hito on Amboyna where, while he was being regally entertained by the Dutch factors, his hosts in the meanwhile were slyly preventing the English from buying cloves from the natives. Jourdain, however, was not a man to be easily swerved from his goal. At Hito he made friends with the natives, by whom he was secretly urged to establish a factory at the port. Unfortunately, the Dutch soon learned of this surreptitious agreement, and, to retaliate, threatened to burn down every native village on the island. Fearing Dutch revenge, the native governor came hurriedly aboard Jourdain's ship, imploring him to save the native settlements by leaving Hito.

Jourdain departed and sailed over to Lugho, a clove settlement on the opposite side of the island, where he was annoyed again by the irate Dutch, who by threats of fire and destruction of crops so intimidated the nervous natives that they were afraid to trade with the English merchants. Unwilling to cause unnecessary suffering to his native friends, Jourdain, after defiantly taking aboard a small cargo of spice, sailed away from Amboyna.

But memories of wily Dutch ways had left an indelible impression on the Company's new president. Later, when similar conduct on the part of Dutch factors was encountered at Banda, Jourdain became the bitter and irreconcilable enemy of all Hollanders. So intense had his antipathy now become that when Jourdain was made president, Dutch traders out in the Spiceries knew that they had to face an inveterate enemy.

Letters sent home by young factors living at outlying posts in those years recount the petty insults offered them and their country. Some inkling of the barbarity and crudity of these tyrannies is found in the following letter from Lawrence Riall, who was captured together with several other merchants in February, 1616, at the factory of Banda. "The Dutch," he writes, "caused grates and cages to be made in their ships and did put us therein, and carryed us in them bound in iron from port to port amongst the Indians. Then the Hollanders carryed five and twentie of the English to the Moluccas where they were very hardly and inhumanely used, being fettered and shackelled in the daytime and close locked up at night."

More tales of Dutch atrocities kept pouring into England. At Pulaway two English vessels were captured, their men being stripped and sent prisoners to the local jail and then placed aboard Dutch vessels. The local factors were backed in their policies by the home office, and secret Dutch orders sent to agents at Pulaway at this time read as follows: "The General of the Dutch has given orders that if they meet us either to sink or burn us before we should recover the islands, or else he would hang them."

English movements were sometimes exposed through underground channels. Writing on September 18, 1618, from his dreary dungeon in Pulaway Castle, a young English factor, George Jackson, tells how "the Dutch were warned by  Fleming whose in Macassar who sent a letter in a trunk to Amboyna, advising of our coming, so the Flemings laid in wait for us with their best ships of war," which resulted in their capture.

One of the factors that tended to increase Anglo-Dutch discord was the isolation and loneliness of young Dutch and English merchants stationed in the Spiceries. All too often petty quarrels arose that would normally have died of their own accord but that turned readily from minor into major disturbances out in the Far East. Some idea of how isolated young traders were from the outside world is gleaned from the fact that news from Europe and other sources was often a year or more reaching agents at their posts. Even letters from the neighboring Moluccas to East India head-

quarters at Bantam and Batavia were months in transit. As a result redress for wrong suffered often required years for adjustment. Directors of the English Company at London and those of the Dutch Company across the Channel were thus hampered by the mail service of the day in directing the conduct and policies of their young and often headstrong factors stationed in the Far East.

At these island ports living conditions, too, entailed much personal hardship. The tropics were enervating, taxing, and conducive to illness. Apparently sturdy Englishmen, unacclimated to life in the Spiceries, died with appalling frequency. Housing conditions, poor food, lack of home ties, all made for restiveness. Even the moral platitudes, the stern sermons, the rigid codes of conduct sent out by the board of London directors for the moral guidance of young men in the Far East failed to provide an antidote to the lassitude of the tropics.

From the English viewpoint one of the most exacting posts in the Far East, the port where Dutch ships constantly anchored, was Bantam, for here quarrelsome sailors on shore leave often started brawls in the markets and bazaars that turned at times into street fights of a violent character. In one such brawl, English merchants wounded two Dutchmen, whose subsequent death from their wounds precipitated months of intense bitterness between the local foreign colonies. "The Hollanders," writes an English eyewitness to these events, "afterwards gave great words that they would put us all to the sword and did lye in wait for our people with their pistolls and peeces, whereof we had notice by the Javans and stood upon our guard day and night to receive them."

Aroused to action by the urgent appeals of the London Company, who demanded the right to avenge these insults and protect their holdings, King James finally commissioned Sir Thomas Dale to proceed to the Far East to protect the English merchants. On the way out Dale stopped at Surat where he was joined by all available English vessels; then the united fleet sailed south toward Bantam, reaching there in November, 1618. No sooner had Dale dropped anchor in the Bantam roadstead than into his sympathetic ears was poured tale after tale of Dutch indignities. Typical of these tales

was the story of Richard Tatten, who "complaineth very much of the bearish usage of the Dutch that will hardly allow the English rice to put in their bellies."

Convinced that drastic measures would have to be adopted against the London Company's Dutch rivals, Dale captured a Dutch East Indiaman, the *Red Lion*, carrying a valuable cargo of rice and pepper, off Bantam. This overt act roused Jan Coen, the local Dutch governor just out from Holland, to swift action.

This newcomer, Jan Pieterszoon Coen, whose arrival in Java had injected new life and vigor into the Dutch colony and who now became Dale's bitter enemy, proved to be a man of dynamic force and unbounded courage. He had been sent out to the Far East to create a powerful, co-ordinated Dutch empire with headquarters at Java, and with this end in view had already selected a site for a clean, sanitary, and central capital to be established at the old Javanese town of Jacatra, situated a short distance below Bantam on the Jacatra River. Having secured permission from the native ruler to settle at Jacatra, in the fall of 1619, the year when Dale and his English ship reached Java, Coen had already started to erect a fort on the river.

With Dale now at Bantam and Coen nearby at Jacatra, the international situation soon assumed a serious aspect. Coen's reply to the capture of the *Red Lion* was to seize two English merchants and chain them, in full view of the awed natives, to the Dutch factory. The local English warehouse was then destroyed by fire. In the general uproar that followed, Dutch shots carried over into Javanese quarters, even reaching the king's residence. Fearing Dutch guns, the Javanese king, "seeing himselfe in a strait," sent post-haste to the English at Bantam for assistance.

Eleven ships, in command of Dale and Prin, sailed down to Jacatra, where in January, 1620, the English fleet defeated the Dutch flotilla. By spring, however, Coen, reassembling his fleet, had recaptured Jacatra, where his victorious forces trailed the English flag ignobly through the dust. Having been informed that a new Dutch fleet was expected daily from Europe, Dale's fleet, now considerably weakened by the encounter, left Bantam for Masulipatam in India.

Simultaneously President Jourdain with his ships *Samson* and *Hound* left Java for Patani on the Malay Peninsula, where three Dutch ships, led by the irate ex-commander of the *Red Lion*, followed Jourdain's vessels. In the harbor of Patani, Jourdain's flagship was suddenly attacked, and after the loss of eleven men, his crew hoisted the flag of truce on the *Samson*. While standing on the deck by his flag Jourdain, first president of the London Company, and one of the most valiant pioneers in the East Indies, was shot down—accidentally, so his enemies claimed—by a Dutch rifle.

Tragedy likewise befell Dale's flotilla. Twelve of his ships fell into the hands of Dutchmen, and in August of that same year Dale died of a tropical malady at Masulipatam. By his death, and the loss of its ships, the fortunes of the London Company reached low ebb in the Orient.

Dale failed to live long enough to learn that a treaty, terminating negotiations of many years' duration, had been signed in London on July 7, 1619, an agreement consolidating the rival Dutch and English East India Companies. In this amalgamation, however, the Dutch won many major advantages. The treaty provided that while trade was to be thrown open to both nations, and the price of spices kept down for mutual benefit, yet the Dutch were to retain control of the most important spice ports. At Java the pepper trade was to be divided between the two countries; the far more valuable clove and nutmeg trade in and about the Bandas, Amboyna, and the Moluccas was to be distributed in the proportion of two-thirds to the Dutch and one-third to the English merchants.

Each nation, furthermore, agreed to provide warships for mutual protection in the Far East, and to divide all costs of maintaining local garrisons and forts, a clause causing endless friction. All forts—most of them already held by the Dutch Company—were to remain in the hands of their present owners. Affairs of the Company were to be directed by a joint council of defense, consisting of four Englishmen and four Dutchmen, with headquarters at Batavia.

This peace pact signed at London unfortunately proved to be only a temporary expedient. Within a short time the sparks of racial

distrust were reignited, this time at the island of Lantore, or Great Banda, conceded to be the exclusive terrain of England, where trouble arose when the Dutch general openly signified his intention of exploiting Lantore for the mutual benefit of both countries. When word of this violation of the Anglo-Dutch agreement reached the English factor at Pularoon, under whose jurisdiction the Lantore factory was managed, a letter of protest was sent to headquarters at Batavia. The Dutch replied twelve days later by capturing Lantore, where they seized three English factors and eight Chinese servants.

From the pen of one of the victims comes the following account of what occurred when the Dutch took Lantore:

"They sacked our house, took away all our goods, murdered three of our Chinese servants, bound the rest (as well English as Chinese) hand and foote, and threatened them to cut their throats, binding them three several times to several stakes with the weapons readie drawne out, and did put a halter upon our principall factors necke, drawing up his head, and stretching out his necke, readie to put them to death, yet did not execute them, but as they were bound hand and foote tumbled them over the rockes like Dogges, and like to have broken their neckes, and thus bound, carried them aboard their shippes, and there kept them prisoners in irons, fourteen or sixteen days."

Elated by this local victory, the Dutch decided to extend the field of their activities and in open defiance of all agreements, boldly sent twenty-six small boats and a large ship to take Pularoon. Here the handful of English factors who were living on the island were powerless to prevent the Hollanders from lowering the English flag and hoisting Dutch colors. Stirred by this cold-blooded conduct, friends and members of the London Company now began to send their protests to the quarters of the United Council for Defense at Batavia. Many of these communications, like that of the Reverend Patrick Capland, verged on the eloquent. "Precious lives of both nations," he wrote the Council, "are being sacrificed. Are you so well able to live of yourselves in Holland that you have no need

of your neighbor country England? Are you so high above the waters that the sluices of heaven cannot drown you? Or are the seas so low beneath your Netherlands that you fear no deluge?" Soon the scurrilous charges laid at Dutch doors resounded through the streets of London. Pularoon and Lantore became the bywords of an irate public, a public that clamored for redress.

In England two "currents" or broadsides were published, one on February 8, and another on February 28, 1622. These, which were widely circulated, described "the incredible and intolerable wrongs inflicted on Englishmen in the East Indies and India, where the Hollanders most unjustly oppressed us and then must proceed further to slander us in England." They also reported that the Bandanese "lovingly and with free consent sold to the English their spices," were hostile to the Dutch nation, and had been made to sign treaties by coercion and not of their own free will.

The Dutch retort to these accusations was the pamphlet, *A true Relation of that which passed in the Islands of Banda in the East Indies in 1620*, printed in 1622 at Amsterdam. This pamphlet advanced the claim that in 1609 and again in 1616 the 'Bandanese had entered into pacts with the Dutch, which the English had persuaded them to violate. Dutch acts against the English, it was asserted, were prompted by English treachery.

While public opinion was being thus aroused in England, fresh difficulties were arising in the Far East, difficulties that soon culminated in more Dutch atrocities on Amboyna, queen of the Clove Islands. On Amboyna, which covered some 280 square miles, there were three trading ports—Amboyna, Hito, and Cambello. At the first of these ports the Dutch had a strong fort, inherited from their Portuguese predecessors and subsequently enlarged, called Victoria. Early in 1623, Fort Victoria was manned by some two hundred Dutch and Japanese soldiers and several hundred *orang negri*, or natives, and guarded by Dutch ships at anchor in the harbor. A second Dutch factory was situated at Hito. Politically, Amboyna was subject to the powerful king of Ternate, over whom the Dutch exercised the closest supervision, though ostensibly maintaining merely a friendly

protectorate. Through the influence of this ruler, who controlled the handling of spices of many adjoining islands, the Dutch retained control of the spice market.

Living at various English factories on Amboyna and the adjacent clove islands were eighteen young English factors, representatives of the London Company. Trade, however, among these outlying island factories was gradually diminishing as difficulties increased. So unsatisfactory had conditions finally become that orders were sent out early in 1623 from the Eastern headquarters of the London Company to withdraw all factors from the Bandas, Amboyna, and the Moluccas.

At this time the local Dutch governor at the town of Amboyna was a young and inexperienced merchant, Herman van Speult, who had been told by his superior at Batavia to keep a watchful eye on the English traders, an admonition that was meticulously observed by the cautious Hollander. And so, on the night of February 10, 1623, upon being informed that certain odd questions had been asked by one of his Japanese soldiers, he immediately visualized a budding conspiracy, although the report sent in merely said that this Japanese guard had asked one of his associates about the military strength of the Dutch at Amboyna. Undue significance, however, had been attached to this idle query, and his words had been reported to headquarters.

After being called up before the governor, the frightened Japanese soldier was put to torture, a common method in those days for extracting "confessions." Terrified and in pain, the Japanese "confessed" that he and several other Japanese had plotted to seize the castle. Although the other Japanese denied all knowledge of this conspiracy, they too were tortured. Hysterical over this barbaric treatment, they attempted to divert attention from themselves by accusing the English factors of having plotted to seize the Amboyna fort when the English fleet reached the island.

Among prisoners held at this time in the local Dutch dungeon was a quarrelsome English barber, Abel Price, who had been jailed for threats, made while drunk, to set fire to Dutch property. The Dutch called in Abel Price to watch them torture the Japanese, then

ordered him either to confess that the English were guilty, or to enter the torture chamber. Abel Price weakly confessed what was asked.

Captain Gabriel Towerson, head of the English factory on Amboyna, and his associates were next summoned to appear before the governor. All but one man came directly at his request to the Dutch fort, where they were seized, put in irons, and their property confiscated. The Dutch then sent to the neighboring ports, brought in the English merchants, and put them to torture. Finally one of them, in agony after being subjected to fire and water for over two hours, confessed what the brutal Dutchmen requested. For several days the remaining English were tortured by methods so cruel as to belie description, then placed in chains in the Dutch fort. Each man, weak to the point of insanity, now affirmed whatever would placate the Dutch, rather than die in anguish.

Only one man, young Captain Towerson, refused to testify as the Dutch desired. This courageous young factor steadily asserted his innocence on being confronted with some who had confessed, "charging them, as they would answer it at the dreadful day of judgment, they would speak nothing but the truth." The sufferers implored his forgiveness and declared all they had said was false. But threatened again with torture, they reaffirmed their confessions.

After a pseudo trial the verdict, "guilty of conspiracy," was returned by the Dutch jailers, a verdict condemning ten Englishmen, nine Japanese, and one Portuguese to be publicly executed for plotting against the Dutch factory at Amboyna. So ill from raw wounds that they could scarcely move, the men were now placed aboard a Dutch ship, the *Rotterdam*. On February 27, they were taken on shore to the castle, tortured for the last time, and forced to put their confessions in writing. Then, after being led in a procession through the town, they were executed. That day on the roster of the Company were recorded the names of those who died: Gabriel Tower-son, Samuel Colson, Emanuel Thomson, Timothy Johnson, John Wetherel, John Clark, William Griggs, John Fardo, Abel Price, and Robert Brown.

By this execution at Amboyna, the Dutch had perpetrated one

of the blackest crimes in all history. The lives of innocent men had been needlessly sacrificed; no evidence of English plots had been disclosed; no secret letters, guns, powder, or other incriminating signs had been discovered. On the other hand, the last messages of the young factors unanimously reiterated their freedom from guilt or conspiracy. Some of their testimonials, slipped into mattresses, secreted in Bibles, or smuggled out by loyal natives, ultimately reached England to be used later as evidence in the high courts of the land.

The black tragedy of Amboyna was not known until a year later in England. Finally, on May 29, 1624, an incoming ship carried details of the disaster to London. The English public, at first stunned, soon clamored insistently for revenge, even for war. For a time popular feeling reached such peaks that Dutch merchants living in London even feared for their personal safety. The London East India Company carried its case directly to the king, threatening to withdraw from the East Indies unless assured of protection.

King James, deeply touched not only by the tragedy itself, but also by the growing pressure of popular opinion, and by the status of the Company whose shares were dropping rapidly on the London Exchange, promised to exact retribution for the disaster. But to plunge England into a Dutch war just when Holland's help might prove invaluable against Spain, with whom he was then contemplating hostilities, seemed to the vacillating James inadvisable. A few weak diplomatic gestures were made toward Holland, but no definite action taken to exact retribution for what had occurred at Amboyna. The Dutch government on the other hand appeared greatly disturbed over the arbitrary acts of their Dutch merchants in the Far East. The Prince of Orange openly expressed his regret *to England*; *Van Speult and Coen were immediately recalled from their posts*; and *Van Speult was transferred to the Indian port of Surat*.

Out in the Spice Islands, however, English trade, as a result of the Amboyna disaster, was at a standstill. The few English factors who remained there, fearing fresh Dutch atrocities, congregated for a time at Anglo-Dutch headquarters at Batavia, then withdrew for

added safety to St. Charles's Island, returning a year later, because of illness, to Batavia. At Batavia they received word that the directors at Crosby House in Bishopsgate—where the Company moved after twenty-one years in Smythe's old mansion—had decided to withdraw permanently from Java and concentrate their attention on developing trade with India. In 1626, after twenty-five years of laborious pioneering, the English abandoned the Spice Islands to their Dutch rivals, and, except for a minor factory at Bantam, under the protection of a native prince, left this corner of the hemisphere and moved north into India.

Meanwhile, in the spring of 1625, the vacillating James died, and Charles ascended the throne of England. From James, Charles inherited heavy debts, a bankrupt national exchequer, and the unsettled disputes with the Dutch over Amboyna. Over the latter problem long years of negotiations now followed, negotiations that were not terminated until 1654 when Cromwell finally forced the Dutch to make restitution for atrocities committed at Amboyna. Originally, English claims for damages had totalled two and one-half million pounds, but when a settlement was made the English Company procured merely the return of Pularoon, damages to the amount of £85,000, and private compensation of £3,265 to the relatives of those who had perished at Amboyna. Yet the memory of those black days lingered on for many decades in England, ultimately furnishing to Dryden, in 1673, the theme for his popular tragedy *Amboyna*, or *The Cruelties of the Dutch to the English Merchants*.

The Coromandel Coast

AN AFTERMATH of the hideous tragedy of Amboyna was a radical change of policy on the part of the London Company. Barred by the sly tactics of the Dutch from planting factories among the lucrative Spice Islands, and harassed on the west coast of India not only by the caprices of the rapacious officials backed by the mogul rulers, but also by the intrigues of the Portuguese and Dutch merchants, the governors of the London Company, sitting in solemn conference in their small offices at Crosby House, decided to seek a new foothold in the Orient, remote from the strongholds of their foreign rivals.

The country to which the English merchants now decided to dispatch their next trading venture was the long strip of land in eastern India bathed by the southern edge of the Bay of Bengal, known as the Coromandel Coast. Up and down this fertile coast land, watered by innumerable rivers from the interior, there had sprung up, in the course of centuries, a series of towns and settlements where some of the finest cotton goods in the Far East was produced.

India is a land so vast, so rich, and so diversely populated that conditions vary to an amazing extent in various sections of the country. The salient characteristic of the Coromandel Coast, a region stretching between the Calimere on the north and the Kistna on the south, was that its many coastal villages afforded a natural outlet for the wealth of the Deccan, a triangular area in the interior rich in diamonds, gold, precious stones, and fine fabrics.

The wealth of the Deccan, also known as the *dakshin*, or South, came primarily from the great central territory included in the countries of Nizam, Mysore, Sindhia, and Holkar, a central plateau area

with a heavy annual rainfall that sent a series of gushing rivers down its east slope. In the plateau and river country grew vast forests of teak and ebony, extensive fields of wheat, millet, and cotton. From the river beds came virgin gold; from the famed mines of Golconda rubies and diamonds, a wealth that was carried into other countries by way of the small towns on the Coromandel Coast.

When negotiations for the valuable products of the Deccan were conducted by the English traders, they proved to be closely interwoven with its somewhat complex political background. The Deccan first assumed historical importance between 1118 and 1565 when it was amalgamated into the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanar. The Hindu hold gave way in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries when five Mohammedan states replaced Hindu control. Of these, the most important was the dynasty of Kutab Sháhí, who established his capital in 1512 at Golconda. Hinduism in the Deccan met further defeat in 1565; but the Islamic conquerors succeeded in bringing only part of the vast land under the banners of Mohammed. Many of these defeated Hindu rulers fled to the coast, where they came in contact with Portuguese, Dutch, and English traders, and engaged in endless political intrigues against their Moslem superiors in the interior.

This was the land whose commercial possibilities had long been known to the directors of the London Company, the land where they hoped to accomplish what they had failed to achieve at Bantam and Surat. To explore this land adjoining the realm of Golconda had long been the dream of Lucas Antheumes and Peter Floris, who in "a discourse delyvered to Mr. Governr" submitted an outline of their projected voyage. Their plan, in brief, was to touch at the Coromandel Coast, invest the Company's capital in cottons, then sell one-third of these goods at Bantam and two-thirds in Patani and Siam.

At the former port the profits from the sale of cotton goods were to be invested in "rialls of 8, Gould, Chinaware," or whatever the Chinese junks had brought to that trading center. Siamese commodities to be purchased included more chinaware, benjamin, aloes, musk, and gumlac. After further coastal and intercoastal trading,

the final cargo purchased for English consumption was to include China silks, taffeta, damask, embroideries, benjamin, musk, cottons, linens, yarns, and miscellaneous drugs.

This proposed venture met with the approval of the London directors and on January 3, 1610, the *Globe*, a small brig in command of Captain Anthony Hippon, with Floris and Antheumes aboard, set sail for the west coast of India. The tale of their amazing adventures in this first English expedition to the Coromandel Coast has been told with dramatic simplicity by Nathaniel Marten, master of the *Globe*, and Peter Floris.

Some nineteen months and six days after leaving London, the *Globe* dropped anchor off Pulicat, a small settlement 30 miles north of Madras. Here two skiffs, one manned by natives sent out by the local governor, and one by local Dutch merchants, came out to inspect the strange English vessel. This unexpected appearance of rival Dutch factors who had already established a factory here in 1609 was an unwelcome surprise to the Englishmen, who had not anticipated competition on the Coast, and although the Hollanders welcomed the English traders in a friendly manner, Floris and Marten kept a furtive eye on them.

Any misgivings Floris and Marten might have felt in regard to the Dutch did not extend, however, to the local governor, who showed his good faith the following day, August 10, 1611, by granting them a cowle, or permit, to trade ashore. Unfortunately, just as Floris and Marten were heading for land in their skiff, the boat overturned and sank at the bar, the English lads barely escaping with their lives.

This calamity proved an ill omen. Floris in his journal describes what now happened:

"On the eleventh, John Van Wersicke, the Dutch President on the coast of Choromandell, shewed us a *caul* from the King of Narsinga, Wencapati Raja, wherein was granted that it should not be lawfull for any that came out of Europe to trade there, but such as brought Prince Maurice his Patent, and therefore desired our departure. We answered we had commission from his Majestie of England, and would therefore doe what we could, hence arose high

words which the Sabander calmed, telling of the Gouvernesse, she comming thither within three days.

"On the seventeenth came Conda Maa, and Captain Hippon, comming on shoare, wee were readie to goe to her, when we received word to the contrarie and that the next day she would send for us. We suspected the Hollanders close dealing, and the next day sent to the Sabander (no man coming for us), who answered the King had made grant to the Hollanders, and we must goe to him if we would procure libertie. The Hollanders had also made readie two elephants to send to the King. Therefore we resolved to prosecute our voyage for Petapoli and Masulipatam."

There was no alternative but to await the arrival of her highness Conda Maa, "the gouvernesse." So important was this occasion that Captain Hippon came ashore for the interview. The early records do not agree as to the date of this meeting; Floris says it took place on August 17, Marten, two days earlier. Hippon's visit, however, proved futile, for all concessions, it was now ascertained, had to be procured from the king far up in the interior. Meanwhile the native merchants, cowed by the Dutch, remained in seclusion without offering goods for barter. The captain now decided to move up the coast, for months of delay would elapse and the season of monsoons be well advanced by the time a messenger could return from the king's court.

In view of these obstacles encountered, the English factors left port and sailed a short distance north to another coastal town called Petapoli, where they hoped to procure cottons for their seventh venture. On August 20 a cowle, or permit to trade, at Petapoli was procured from its governor, and after sending ashore English goods in charge of several young merchants, for several days a brisk trade was carried on at the port. The reception at Petapoli proved so encouraging that two factors were selected to remain ashore while the *Globe* moved on up the coast to Masulipatam, another promising coastal settlement. On August 30 the English vessel came to anchor off the port, where she remained for several months.

At Masulipatam, the chief port of the state of Golconda, the gateway into the interior, and one of the most important trading

centers along the coast, the English, having secured official permission, now decided to establish a factory. A flourishing trade was in prospect at this port, for here, by bringing in spices bought at Bantam for specie, or exchanged for articles manufactured in Europe, the covered calicoes, chintzes, and muslins could be readily purchased in large quantities by the simple method of making advances to the poverty-stricken weavers.

But at Masulipatam, as at Petapoli, the enmity of local Dutch traders was encountered, an enmity that rose at this time to such heights at the port that the Dutch, claiming the sole right to trade with the local merchants, carried the affair before the native ruler, who decided at first in their favor. Floris, however, continued to enlist the aid of the local ruler, who finally regranted the English factors the right to trade at his port upon payment of certain duties. The men selected to remain there and transact business for the Company were Thomas Browne, who had come out in 1604 with Henry Middleton to the East, Essington, Floris, Anthemis, and Symon Evans.

Masulipatam, lying at the delta of the Kistna River, offered many advantages to the English traders. The port was a logical half-way point between the West and the Far East; it afforded a fair protection from the dangerous monsoons; and it was the center for the diamond, ruby, and fancy textile trade of Golconda. The Moslem court, furthermore, was one of the most influential strongholds in the Deccan. The King's court was at Golconda, now a poor settlement 7 miles west of Hyderabad, which at the time of Floris's visit to Masulipatam was a rich and active metropolis.

The reigning king was fully aware of the advantages to be derived from foreign commerce, and although the Dutch were in high favor with the governor of the port, he favored the permit, obtained through the local Hindu authorities, giving London factors certain trading privileges. The *Globe* had reached Masulipatam in the summer and the factors, living ashore, were not yet acclimated to their new duties when the friendly monarch died, leaving in his wake dissension over the succession.

This political unrest afforded the local governor an excellent

opportunity, so he believed, to exploit the English merchants. Suddenly raising the customs duties from 4 to 12 per cent, writes Floris, "he then dealt treacherously with me in a bargain of Cloth and Lead for Launces." Heated words, in which the haughty governor took refuge in the fact that, being born of Mohammed's posterity, his words carried more weight than those of a mere Christian, now caused Floris to hoist sail for the south. En route he put in at Petapoli, took aboard the English factors who had remained there, and, carried by the monsoon, sailed swiftly down to Bantam, where, in April, 1611, the *Globe* dropped anchor.

With Bantam as a base, for the next two years the *Globe* now traded at Siam, Borneo, and the neighboring islands, seeking ports where trading could be carried on to the greatest advantage, especially at points where Chinese and Siamese wares could be exchanged for English commodities. In the course of this interport traffic, the *Globe*, touching again at Masulipatam, found another English ship, the *James*, that had been sent out to join Hippon, and two formidable Dutch vessels anchored in port. The traders aboard the *Globe* found, too, that the political tide had now turned in full force toward the English. Indicative of its strength was the fact that Floris, who had been negotiating for some time with Wentcatadria, received from His Majesty a white cloth, bearing his signature inscribed in saffron. Accompanying this imperial token of esteem was a letter, or leaf, that was destined to be one of the most important messages ever received by the Company.

The missive, inscribed upon a leaf of gold, was received on July 29, 1614, and carried an invitation from the king "desiring that now we would come to his country and chuse a place to our best liking, and that we should build a house or castle according to our owne liking. With other privileges he gave me a Towne of about foure hundred pound of yearly revenue, with promise to doe more at my comming thither. The Hollanders had wrought much against it, but their words were not now in such force; the inhabitants grieving to see every yeare English ships passe by without any profit to them, and therefore filling the King with complaints and procuring these friendly offers."

The note came none too soon, for within a short time Wencatadria, who had lived only a month or so after the great flood that devastated his kingdom, passed away, his body, with those of his three wives being burned, according to local custom, on a great funeral pyre. Aware that in those days each new dynasty was ushered in by hostilities and outbreaks, Floris now prepared to close his accounts and leave for England. However, as before, local officials proved obdurate, dishonest, and mischievous. Though Floris attempted to collect the amounts due, they refused to reimburse him for goods sold. Put on his mettle for a second time by the governor's attitude, he took direct action. "I decided," he writes, "I would no longer bee made a Foole, I would shew myselfe a captaine of the King of the English, who are not accustomed to such knavish dealinge."

By way of protest against this outrage, he decided to kidnap the governor's son and hold him aboard his ship for ransom. He was careful, however, to leave two of his own men ashore to explain the true significance of this capture. Meanwhile the young captive aboard ship was in a serious dilemma, for, being a Brahmin, he would neither eat nor drink with infidels. Knowledge of this fact soon brought the governor to terms, the debts due Floris were discharged, and the *Globe* sailed south toward Bantam.

Notwithstanding bickerings with court officials, the repeated attempts made by the Dutch to force the moguls to keep English ships off the coast, the English, through Floris, Antheumes, and Captain Hippon, had established contacts along the Coromandel Coast. Of ports visited, Masulipatam was believed to afford the most favorable opening; it became Company headquarters for eastern India, where within a few years the nucleus of a factory was formed with warehouses, offices, and quarters for the factors, or traders.

To increase the range of their trading activities, a decision was now reached to establish trading posts at intermediate points along the 140-mile stretch of coast between Masulipatam and Petapoli. The first definite attempt at expansion along the coast was at Pulicat, an old Hindu port where the best cottons in eastern India were available. But when the *James*, carrying John Gourney and Thomas

Brookedon, reached here in 1614, they found already strongly entrenched their sworn enemies the Dutch, who, having built a fortified settlement in 1609, refused to allow them to enter their territory.

Unfriendly relations between Dutch and English factors on the east coast made further business impossible for several years until the treaty of 1619 between England and Holland gave English factors the right to trade along the Coromandel Coast. The signing of this treaty was the signal for renewed activities on the part of English and Dutch merchants who flocked to Pulicat in 1620 where, for a year or more, their trade went "roundly forward." For a time local English and Dutch factors even joined forces and went into partnership, a union that was suddenly dissolved after the Amboyna tragedy.

Shaken by Dutch tactics at Amboyna, the English factors moved out in haste from Pulicat, and located 35 miles north at a squalid town called Armagaon. Having obtained the requisite permission to locate at this point in 1628, the English factors erected a small fort for the London Company. This settlement provided a refuge that same year for English traders from Masulipatam who, after a series of minor clashes extending over a period of years that culminated in serious trouble with the governor of their own port, moved down to Armagaon. Here conditions were so unhealthful, and trading so slow, that after an absence of two years they returned to their old associates at Masulipatam.

Their return coincided with the great famine of 1630 that swept across the Deccan from west to east, bringing death and devastation in its wake. Natives died by the millions, "the living were eating the dead, and men durst scarcely travel in the country for fear they should be killed and eaten."

With all its death and devastation, the famine actually strengthened the position of the English Company on the coast by weakening the hold of the *Hindus, and strengthening that of the Mohammedan ruler of Golconda. Advantage was taken of this situation by an English merchant, a representative of the London Company, who for many years had been ingratiating himself at the

court, to press the king to grant an official permit to supplement the local grant made by the governor at Masulipatam.

Finally, in December, 1632, the English received from the king of Golconda a "Golden Phirmand," granting them the right to trade in his territory. This was supplemented by a second gold-leaf farman, procured on February 26, 1634, by the "courageous, fortunate, and wourthy Mr. Thomas Joyce," an English trader. Joyce, describing his amusing experiences at Golconda, relates how "the chiefe peere of the Kingdome Elchibeague, showed unspeakable courtesie," sent him an escort of a hundred horsemen, and gave him a horse worth £50 and a valuable necklace. The English, in return for this favor, agreed to import Persian horses for His Majesty.

Despite this permit, at Masulipatam, as at the Spice Islands, the English factors soon realized that the antipathy of the Dutch traders was an insurmountable barrier to successful dealings with local merchants. This, combined with the devastation of plague years, finally so demoralized trade at Masulipatam and Armagaon that the Company's affairs were in a precarious condition. At this time Thomas Ivie was sent from Bantam to head the factory at Masulipatam, and attempt to rectify the deplorable conditions at the fort.

While traveling up the west coast to his new post, Ivie put in at Armagaon to visit Francis Day, head of the local English factory. During this visit Day talked so enthusiastically of a new location down the coast suitable for a fort that Ivie finally authorized him to sail south to negotiate for a new settlement at the point mentioned—a small native settlement 3 miles north of the Portuguese colony San Thomé, called Madraspatam. Day succeeded in his mission and procured from the local ruler or naik, a permit to build a fort and found a settlement under his jurisdiction.

Bearing this precious document, Day followed Ivie to Masulipatam, where he found the local factors considerably perturbed over the arrival of Andrew Cogan, or Coggan, who had been sent to occupy the same post to which Ivie had been appointed. This embarrassing situation of two appointees had been caused by a

misunderstanding with the head office in London. Cogan, however, who had come overland from Surat by way of Golconda, had procured from the king of that rich province a farman, or permit for coast trade. His appointment to this post was finally confirmed on August 16, 1639, by the Bantam council.

The interest of the London Company was now concentrated on Madraspatam, a region famed abroad, as the Portuguese at San Thomé had discovered years before, for its chintzes, calicoes, and blue cotton cloth. Day's quaint narrative dated September 3, 1639, reporting to his chief his visit to the local naik, or mogul, Ventaradri, who controlled this lucrative cotton-goods market, is as follows:

"I was entertayned with much Honnour by the Mogul himselfe, merchants, painters, and weavers. I had free leve to vizit his towns and soe discourse with the merchants, painters, and weavers, who brought mee musters of all their sorts of cloath."

This auspicious beginning induced the council of English factors at Masulipatam to urge Day to return at once to Madraspatam and keep the naik in this same friendly mood until sanction and further instructions were received from Banram.

But before a confirmation to move had been received from headquarters at Surat, the enthusiastic factors, Cogan and Day, began to dismantle the fort at Armagaon and, loading their materials, supplies, and personal belongings aboard the *Unity* and the *Eagle*, sailed south to the port now known as Madras.

Madras is situated directly on the edge of a sapphire sea, fringed by a beach covered with green foliage. In the background rise a few low hills; on the highest of these stands an ancient church called St. Thomas's Mount. Low sand dunes mark the point where the Cooum River, breaking into the sea, forms a small lagoon. When Cogan and Day reached Madras, on these sand dunes stood the Portuguese fort of San Thomé, a prosperous settlement with a fine cathedral.

The native town of Madraspatam, or Chennapatam, lay along the shore 3 miles north of San Thomé. Day decided to erect his fort between them, at a point, where two streams, the Triplicane, or

Cooum, and the North, or Elambore, rivers united and formed a large outlet into the sea. In the course of their meanderings these streams had formed a low, marshy strip of land surrounded by water, known as the island. On this island, which was nearly 4 miles long and 1 mile wide, and which could be readily fortified, Day decided to erect a factory.

The *Eagle* and the *Unity*, carrying Day, Cogan, and a corps of writers, surgeons, soldiers, carpenters, smiths, coopers, and powder-makers, reached their destination on February 20 and erected temporary shelters of bamboo and straw. Ten days later, having procured materials and laborers from the naik, the travelers began work on the foundations of the fort. This structure, which was rectangular in shape, measured 100 by 108 yards; it was protected on each corner by a turret built of ironstone laid in clay, and required fifty-six guns for its defense. The initial cost of the fort that first year was "1,500 pieces of eight," or dollars, each worth about five shillings, and many thousands more were needed to complete it. The "pieces of eight" were procured by borrowing, Day himself guaranteeing to pay the interest.

On September 24, 1641, the new fort, which was known, officially, as Fort St. George, was made the chief factory on the coast. From then on the small colony expanded rapidly, many weavers, traders, and Portuguese from the neighboring settlements moving in near the fort. It was not long before the walled island area housing only Englishmen became known as White Town, and the outer quarter, the habitat of a mixed population, Black Town.

Day wisely encouraged the neighboring Portuguese to settle near his fort and soon had many warm friends among his Catholic neighbors. Through their influence there came to the fort in 1642 an able French missionary, Father Ephraim de Nevers, who established a Capuchin mission a short distance north of St. George.

In the meanwhile the council at Surat began to question the unauthorized expense incurred by Day in building the fort. To clear himself of unpleasant charges Day sailed from Surat and from there to England where, after a time, the difficulties were adjusted with such satisfaction that upon his return to India in 1643, he assumed

full charge of the Madras colony at the munificent salary of £200 a year.

Day ruled only a short time at the fort he had so laboriously built; he was succeeded in 1644 by Thomas Ivie, who reached Madras on the eve of a series of trying years. Strained relations, as he was soon to discover, had already arisen between Fort St. George and Pulicat, where the Dutch were at swords' points with the local authorities; hostilities with the Portuguese at San Thomé had already broken out; and the political kettle in the interior, constantly bubbling, was now overflowing with fresh animosity.

Of immediate importance to the London Company was the situation at Pulicat, where the Dutch were at open war with the local rajah because of a dispute that had arisen between them and their old friend, Mollay, who represented the rajah at the court and who, by way of reprisal, seized a large amount of Dutch merchandise, selling it to the English merchants. To besiege the Dutch fort the rajah's retainers needed guns and ammunition, which the rajah now asked the English to send to his commander, Chenana Chetti, promising to give them further concessions in exchange.

The cowle, or grant, thus procured from Rajah Sri Ranga on November 15, 1643, by Thomas Ivie, confirmed the original grant made to the Company, allowed them half of certain port duties, removed from their merchandise both export and import duties, guaranteed to protect them from injustice, and gave the factors the right to administer their own laws within the limits of Madras. This cowle was inscribed on a leaf made of gold, which, unfortunately, was lost a few years later when the French removed all Madras records to Pondicherry. This, which was renewed by the king of Golconda in 1645, gave the English a firm and lasting foothold on land surrounding the fort.

Then, in 1647, just as conditions had become fairly well stabilized for the first time, another serious famine swept over India. As in former years plague followed. Soon meat and rice were unprocurable at any price. For months no rains fell, crops would not grow, and the plight of the weavers, on whose products the Company depended for its existence, became desperate. By October

conditions were chaotic. "How violent the famine hath bine here," wrote Thomas Ivie, "'tis not to bee credited; for out of the Towne of Madraspatam died in five months' tyme 4,000 Persons."

This dreadful year proved the death-knell to the old Hindu house of Vijayanagar, once master of the Carnatic. Overwhelmed by the forces of the king of Golconda, the deposed rajah fled to Mysore. This afforded an excellent opportunity for the English to strengthen their alliances; and Ivie, eager to show his good faith to the Mohammedan conqueror, aided Mir Jumlah, the king's viceroy—once a diamond merchant in Ispahan—while the former was encamped near Madras, in an attempt to trap the Portuguese at San Thomé.

The guns and soldiers given by the English to Mir Jumlah, general to the king of Golconda, in his blockade of San Thomé, incensed the Portuguese, who had already had several disagreements with their English neighbors over slaves, married women who desired to escape from their husbands, and fugitives from justice who fled from San Thomé and sought refuge in Fort St. George. Petty troubles of this character continued until 1649, when religious disputes between the neighboring communities culminated in the capture of two religious leaders of rival sects and their imprisonment on the charge of heresy. The difficulties were finally terminated by the English agent, Henry Greenhill, who had succeeded Thomas Ivie, who returned to England in 1648, at Fort St. George.

After these turbulent years, marked by political, civil, and religious complications at Fort St. George, a period of stability and peace followed. Soon after, on September 1, 1652, in recognition of its importance, Fort St. George replaced Bantam as the Company's eastern center of control. Notwithstanding this official recognition, at this time there were only forty-four Englishmen at the fort when President Aaron Baker arrived from Java to take charge of the port. Even so small a staff placed a heavy strain on the Company's finances, with the result that in 1654 orders were received from London to reduce this force to two factors and ten soldiers. St. George as a result was left exposed to the danger of aggressive acts on the part of Dutch factors and licensed English traders.

This reduction of staff at Fort St. George reveals the depths to which the English Company had sunk by the middle of the seventeenth century. At home its financial affairs were dangerously involved; the morale of the local staff, owing to the uncertainty of political conditions in England, had been reduced to a low ebb; its trade had been demoralized by clashes in the East with Portuguese, Dutch, and rival English merchants. The lethargy into which the Company had sunk as the result of these distressing circumstances was terminated, however, in 1657, when a new charter was issued to the Company through the influence of Cromwell. As part of its new program to revive Oriental trade, in 1658 the London Company decided to refortify Madras, and to make it the leading settlement on the Coromandel Coast.

CHAPTER VIII

Kings, Interlopers, and Charters

WHILE ENGLISH TRADERS, faced with Dutch chicanery, Portuguese animosity, plague, famine, and the irresponsible political maneuvers of rival Hindu and Moslem rulers, were attempting to secure a foothold on the Coromandel Coast, events of even more profound influence on the destiny of the London Company were taking place in England. In the first quarter of the seventeenth century, the slim foundations of the Company had been laboriously laid; during the second, these unstable props were destined to rock precariously under the onslaught of English politics. Finally, during the reign of Charles I, they were shaken so violently and came so close to ruin that the end seemed inevitable. From this chaos the Company was rescued only by the vigorous and sound maritime and foreign policy of the great English Protector, Oliver Cromwell.

The many imbroglios that beset the Company's path at this period may be traced directly to the turbulent reign and unsound policies of Charles I. Born in 1600, the natal year of the London Company, this handsome and athletic prince grew to manhood under the influence of James's powerful favorite, Buckingham, with whom he cemented a friendship that became so strong that when Charles was sent to Spain in 1623 to secure the hand of the infanta, he was accompanied by this adroit duke. The return of Charles to London, without having contracted what was believed to be an important foreign alliance, made an unfortunate impression on the English public. A substitute for the Spanish *infanta* was eventually found in the French-Catholic princess, Henriette Marie, an alliance that proved disastrous from many angles, for Charles in the ardor of his courtship made many political promises that were irreconcilable

and impossible of fulfillment, and that led ultimately to war with both France and Spain.

Charles's foreign contacts and alliances and the domination of the Duke of Buckingham brought disaster in their wake. Foreign wars wrecked his credit at home and abroad; and in London the situation for a time grew so tense that those who refused to lend Charles money were thrown into jail. Parliament was called and disbanded at will until, in 1628, Charles decided to rule alone. The murder of Buckingham failed to check the unrest in England, or to stem the unpopular activities of the wayward Charles. Without parliamentary guidance, with the moral support of Buckingham removed, on August 22, 1642, civil war was declared. This broke over England with such force that Charles was helpless to combat his enemies. With finances on the brink of ruin, with all available resources exhausted, in 1645 Charles was defeated by armies led by Fairfax and Cromwell.

After a brief respite, during which an attempt was made to adjust English political strife, civil war broke out once more. This second clash culminated in 1648. In the dramatic trial that followed, Charles was charged with endeavoring to overthrow the liberties of the people, with being a tyrant, traitor, and murderer. He was declared guilty and, on January 30, 1649, executed on a scaffold that had been hastily erected on the terrace of his own palace, Whitehall, on the Thames.

The highhanded tactics of Buckingham and Charles, followed by years of civil war, virtually paralyzed English finance and commerce, and were the controlling factors behind the East India Company at this period. In fact, the political moves of Charles, his financial needs, and the unreliability of his promises had far more bearing on its success than the cargoes brought in by its fleets from India.

This period of economic disturbance was of long duration, dating back to the death of James, who left heavy debts requiring immediate payment which so demoralized the stock of the Company that in 1626 its shares sold as low as £80, shipping dropped off a third, and subscribers refused to give more than one-fifth of their previous

pledges. Then, two years later, when the books of the Company were opened to the fourth joint-stock venture, to the dismay of the directors not a single subscription was offered. To carry the Company through this crisis large sums were borrowed until, in 1628, its liability amounted to £300,000.

The weakened status of the Company's exchequer was undoubtedly due not only to the unsound economic conditions of that period, but also to the pronounced antagonism now felt throughout England to the East India Company. Pamphlets, articles, and speeches in which satiric writers pointed out the evils which the Company's monopoly of the lucrative India trade was inflicting on British merchants began to circulate at this time. The East India Company, it was openly said, was draining England of millions of pounds of specie annually to buy useless luxuries; to build its ships, trees that should have been conserved for the nation's navy were being ruthlessly sacrificed; men were sent out to the East who should remain at home to man England's own fleet; prices of commodities were being raised by the influx of East India commodities.

Erudite members of the London Company penned vigorous denials of these charges. They replied that the Company had actually lowered the price of spices; had checked the monopolistic grip of the Dutch and Portuguese in the Far East; had reexported many commodities to the benefit of London merchants; and had shipped out, in twenty years, only half a million in specie annually, whereas they were licensed to carry out three-quarters. This appeal to the public culminated in 1628 in a *Petition and Remonstrance by the Governor and Company of Merchants of London Trading to the East Indies*, a public refutation of the charges brought against the Company, and a request for popular support on the grounds of the benefits their activities had brought to England. Public support was direly needed at this period, for Charles had recently released the Dutch ships, probably because the London Company had refused to loan him £10,000, in spite of his agreement to hold them until compensation had been received for the Amboyna massacre.

The hope of any support from Parliament was shattered, however, when Charles abruptly dissolved this group, which was not

resummoned for eleven years. This radical act on the part of the English king left the London Company entirely exposed to the whims and vagaries of a pseudo-dictator, whose policies time and again were formulated primarily by his pressing need for funds. Furthermore, the reluctance of the directors of the East India Company to lend or donate to Charles's royal purse stood out unfavorably at this time in contrast with a group of rich London merchants who made no secret of their desire to coerce Charles into allowing them to trade in the Far East, and from whom he procured large loans, presents, and various favors.

Among the dangers that threatened the life of the Company at this period, as a result of these favor-seeking merchants, was a new group which arose from the questionable financial manipulations of the hard-pressed Charles, popularly known as Interlopers, or private traders. For some time the puritanic, mercantile class of London had been aware that the exclusive right to trade in the Far East had brought to a single company rich profits in which they could not hope to share. From this grievance came many of the recriminations, accusations, and charges of malpractices which were brought against the Company in the hope that the king would allow a wider participation in Oriental trade.

Whether Charles was actually influenced by these direct onslaughts, whether he was motivated by his need for gold and regarded as niggardly the London Company's financial assistance or gifts to his royal purse, or whether he hoped to participate privately under a false name in commercial ventures, he finally decided to break the monopoly of the original company. Legally this would have been possible under the terms of the King James's charter wherein, if trade proved unprofitable to the realm, with three years' notice the charter might be revoked. The king, however, failed to make use of this loophole.

Among those who had been soliciting the favors of King Charles for some years, in the hope of securing a license, were two prosperous London merchants, Sir William Courten, whose ships were already trading with Portugal, the African Coast, and the West Indies, and Sir Paul Pindar, who had amassed a fortune in the Levant. The

latter, who had supplied Charles with diamonds years before when he had gone to Spain to woo the infanta, and subsequently lent him £200,000, stood especially high in the king's esteem. Closely associated with Courten and Pindar were the King's secretary, Endymion Porter, a courtier, speculator, and patron of the arts (whom the king was believed to use as a blind for his own commercial ventures), and Captain Weddell.

To this group in 1635 Charles I granted a charter to trade in the Orient. In issuing this license, he evaded the fact that the permit infringed on the rights of the London Company by saying that these merchants would not trade in the old Company's territory, but would "be employed on some secret design which His Majesty at present thought fit not to reveal." The group, known as Courten's Association, was officially licensed to trade for five years in China, Japan, and India.

While licensing of these Interlopers to share in the East India trade was serious enough to the welfare of the London Company, yet far more dangerous to its prosperity was the piratical conduct of Courten's followers. Enlisting in their crews men who had been for a time in the London Company and thus knew the Orient, under the flag of this new group two ships set sail for the Far East. Meeting some native Surat junks in the Red Sea, they plundered them, tortured the crews, and sailed away with the English flag flying from the topmast.

When reports reached the mogul of these atrocities on the part of Englishmen—men whom he regarded as his friends—he was so incensed that he dispatched a regiment of soldiers to the English factory at Surat, seized William Methwold, head of the agency, and his associates, cast them into prison, and confiscated the Company's property. Not until the bewildered factors had paid 177,000 rupees for a crime of which they had no knowledge and were innocent, and remained prisoners for two months, were they released from bondage.

The full significance of the situation was revealed, however, soon after their discharge, when the jubilant culprits, headed by their leader, Captain Weddell, reached Surat. From letters he carried, the

factors learned of the new group called Courten's Association, or the Assada Merchants, to whose ship, ironically enough, they were asked to give whatever help was needed. Leaving Surat, Weddell's fleet sailed down to Goa, where the captain, after interviewing the viceroy, hired a house, landed his goods, and exchanged them for a valuable cargo of silks and spices for the return trip to England.

Meanwhile, Charles turned a deaf ear to the frantic protests of the East India Company and to its entreaties that the king should grant no more privileges to Courten's followers. The hope that he would listen to their pleas and that the sudden death of William Courten in 1636 would end the venture vanished when a new license was granted in June, 1637, to Courten's son. This confirmed the former grant, extended it for five years, allowed the competing company to export £40,000 in gold and silver bullion, and exempted them from the import duty on all India goods exported abroad.

Although Courten's first India venture had proved profitable financially, his merchants had created antagonism wherever they landed. The Dutch protested against their tactics; the East India Company was suffering serious damages; Parliament, petitioned by the latter group, was questioning the wisdom of Charles's policy. In an effort to placate the Company, in December, 1639, the king, having appointed a committee of the Privy Council to survey the burning question of the Anglo-India trade, announced he would revoke all former patents, and relicense a new and exclusive East India Company to trade on a joint-stock basis.

While the governor and board of directors in London were attempting to solve the political and economic problems that had sent the Company's stock to new low levels, many of their factors out in the Far East were quietly developing on the side little trading ventures for their private account. The temptations to indulge in this illicit traffic were great. Portuguese traders living in Indian ports were consistently piling up fortunes by this same method. At home the Company was too preoccupied with its own problems to intervene; life was dull at the ports, and the small salaries paid allowed scant margin for luxuries.

At Surat, the head port, the president received only £500 and

factors £50 annually. To indulge in a little speculation on the side in pepper, sugar, ginger, preserved fruits, nutmeg, drugs, precious stones, damasks, taffetas, and Chinese porcelains proved so irresistible that the Company, aware that it could not eradicate the abuse, finally allowed its captains, masters, and factors to bring in two small chests on each voyage.

Moral courage to indulge in speculation on the side found support in the activities of Courten's traders who had now invaded territory within the jurisdiction of the East India Company, and were demoralizing the activities of the older merchants. The second voyage sent out by Courten's Association was headed by the veteran mariner, Captain Weddell, and went as far as Canton. Here the captain conducted himself in so disgraceful a manner that the Chinese, after their main fort had been attacked and robbed by Weddell's men, developed a feeling of antipathy toward all Englishmen.

Back in England Courten's group had made generous gifts to Charles since the dissolution of Parliament. This attitude was not followed by the directors of the East India Company, who were not only outraged by the king's conduct, but also had their own pressing financial problems to solve. But Charles was not to be deprived of his royal prerogatives by the conservatism of the directors of the London Company. In 1640, at the instigation of his courtly satellites, the king forced the Company to give him, on credit, £65,000 worth of pepper, the equivalent in those days of ready cash. This the monarch immediately sold for £59,000, pocketing the proceeds without reimbursing the Company. All the East India Company eventually realized from this forced sale was some £13,000 and a few additional trading privileges.

Incensed at this hostile act, aware that the Company was far too weak financially to stand further drains of this character, and thoroughly aroused over the infringement of their charter by Courten's Association, the governor of the East India Company decided to place his grievances before Parliament, which had finally reassembled. In January, 1641, a complaint was prepared and taken to Parliament charging King Charles with duplicity in licensing Courten's Association. A short time before the petition came up for a hearing, the

king hastily summoned the governor of the Company to Whitehall and persuaded him to withdraw the complaint, promising restitution.

Notwithstanding, by June Charles had made no attempt to protect or placate the Company, which now presented its complaint to Parliament. At this time the marketing of its wares had become so precarious in England that agents were placed abroad to market its pepper, especially in Leghorn, Venice, Genoa, and Messina.

Any interest Charles or Parliament may have had in attempting to adjust the involved affairs of the East India Company was now abruptly terminated by the civil war into which England was plunged by the misconduct of the monarch. After rallying to his flag every available cohort, Charles fought a losing fight against Cromwell and England. Confronted by chaos within the realm, in 1646 the governor advised the shareholders of the East India Company "to draw home their factors and estate." Two years later a motion was passed to abolish seven of the Company's India factories.

Finally, by 1649, the East India Company and the Assada Merchants, faced with bankruptcy, decided to bury their differences. By an agreement then made, the latter agreed to take over the Madagascar trade and concede the port-to-port trade in India to the East India Company. This arrangement, however, failed to check many abuses that had crept in, notably the manufacture of counterfeit coins by the Assada Merchants which they scattered up and down the Madagascar coast, a deception for which the East India Company was held liable by the native princes, and which cost them ultimately £200,000.

The victories of Cromwell changed the attitude of the Company almost overnight. The military conqueror, who was a man schooled in the traditions of sound economics, realized the importance of buffeting the Dutch and Portuguese in the Far East, and of allowing the East India Company to trade without interference. In this way, he believed, English prestige and commerce would be carried to far lands without the support of a costly English navy, which would be required to protect trade thrown open to the British public.

At the instigation of Cromwell, on January 31, 1650, the House of Commons resolved "that the trade to the East Indies should be

carried on by one company, and with one joint stock, and the management thereof to be under such regulations as Parliament shall think fit, and that the East India Company should proceed upon the articles of agreement made between them and the Assada Merchants on November 21, 1649."

The Navigation Act passed in 1651 raised once more the question of open or shut trade in the Orient. So great at this time was the pressure brought to bear by London merchants for the right to engage in this eastern traffic that the Council of State, with the approval of Cromwell, began to issue licenses for private trade in the East Indies.

Again the London Company seemed doomed to a swift death. By 1654 threats were made openly in London that unless the Company was dissolved and the trade thrown open to the public, hostile demonstrations would be made. At the peak of this new crisis the Company again petitioned the Council of State, presenting its case on a broader and more open basis. After pointing out that it already had factories under fourteen Indian monarchs, a large amount of costly equipment, including ships and considerable capital, it prayed the Protector to grant them a new charter. It acknowledged the failure of its original plan of separate voyages and requested that in the future only the joint stock, or permanent capital system, should be used. Members of the Company, however, were to be allowed to trade privately with their own capital and own ships.

On February 10, 1657, the rights for which they had fought for more than twenty years were granted by Cromwell to the Company. This new agreement ratified the King James charter, made the Company a continuous joint-stock venture, and enlarged its privileges. Unfortunately the original Cromwell charter has disappeared; whether it was lost, or concealed at the time the Restoration ended remains an enigma.

But in 1657 the Cromwell charter was received with wild enthusiasm by members of the East India Company. The very day it was issued a meeting was called by the directors of the East India Company, and new capital, in amounts ranging from one hundred to several thousand pounds, was subscribed. In this way £739,787 was raised to take over the assets of the old group and buy up the fac-

tories, forts, customs rights, and privileges of the old company. The assets of this group were then sold to the new subscribers for £20,000. For this amount shareholders received the factories at Surat, with its dependencies on the Bombay coast, Fort St. George and the factories on the Coromandel Coast, Bantam, including Jambi, Macassar and Pularoon, and the fort at Gombroon in Persia. On the west coast of Africa the group purchased for £1,300 the properties of the Guinea Company and laid plans to trade with China and Japan and to fortify the island of St. Helena.

Cromwell also succeeded in terminating at this time other pressing problems that retarded the Company's progress. As an aftermath of the war of 1652 with Holland, in which the Company supplied saltpeter to the navy and offered to equip a fleet to fight the Dutch in the Far East, the Protector forced his opponents, in the treaty of 1654, to adjust back claims for the Amboyna disaster, to pay the Company £85,000 and the heirs of those who had perished £3,615, and to restore the island of Pularoon to the East India Company. But when Pularoon was returned to the English several years later, it was found that the Dutch had destroyed every spice tree on the island.

The Portuguese, whose claims to exclusive trade rights in the Far East were based on the old papal bull of 1493, were also forced by Cromwell into a treaty whereby English ships were given the right to trade freely in their territory. Unfortunately the ruler whose vision and perspicacity laid the foundations for a new and financially strong East India Company did not live long enough to know what he had accomplished. Eighteen months after the Cromwell charter was issued, on September 3, 1658, the leader of the English Commonwealth passed away.

Notwithstanding the dark years from the accession of Charles to the death of Cromwell, during which the Company time and again faced ruin, several feeble attempts were made at expansion. Ships had been sent out regularly to Persia and a flourishing silk trade was conducted at Ispahan and Gombroon. The former port with its six factors was abandoned, however, in 1640, when Courten's Association made serious inroads on their business. At Bantam the factory

had been reopened; a license to trade with Africa had been procured; and invaluable trade connections established along the east coast of India.

Trade at all these ports, however, was depressed and unstable. But despite political unrest, into England poured a steady stream of long pepper, white pepper, powdered sugar, nutmegs, ginger, bezoar stones, drugs, Persian carpets, satin, taffeta, muslins, sugar candy, and Chinese dishes and porcelains, while outbound ships were loaded to the gunwales with broadcloth, pewter, saffron, silk and woolen hose, ribbons, beaver and felt hats, knives, Spanish leather shoes, iron, and looking glasses. For with all its vicissitudes the Cromwell era, in its relation to the East India Company, paved the way for an extensive, comprehensive, and stable trade throughout the Orient.

CHAPTER IX

Storm Clouds Gather

ON APRIL 22, 1661, the day preceding his coronation, Charles II rode solemnly through the triumphal arches erected in the streets of London amid cheering crowds. In honor of the event the balconies of the East India Company's offices near the waterfront on Leadenhall Street were adorned with a large picture showing an East Indiaman under full canvas, while in the street below a small boy riding a large camel scattered nutmegs, cloves, and mace to the joyful multitudes.

This contribution of the East India Company to the festive occasion was a matter of general interest to the London spectators, for it was an age when the East was still a land of mystery. What were called "India curiosities and oddities" of all kinds were extremely popular at this time in England. Pepys had his house filled with Chinese and India "oddities"; and when a strange creature called a rhinoceros was brought in by the East India Company and sold for £2,000, crowds flocked to see it. Occasionally Indian "oddities" could be bought at pawn or curiosity shops which flourished in London in the vicinity of the Royal Exchange, shops visited by men and women of all classes. Even the erudite Ben Jonson liked to patronize what he called London "China Shops and Pawn."

"For costly toys, silk stockings, cambric, lawn,
There's choiceful plenty in the Curious Pawn."

The London celebration, in which the Company participated by a display of camels and spices, was an outstanding event in England, for it heralded the restoration of peace and monarchy, under the scepter of Charles II, to war-torn Europe. The new monarch, the

eldest son of Charles I, was born in 1630, and had grown to manhood in the midst of civil strife. He had seen the rise and fall of Cromwell, had known the pangs of nine long years of exile in France, Germany, and the Netherlands, and he had experienced, finally, the joy of being recalled by Lord Clarendon to govern a reunited England.

Charles's return had taken place on May 29, 1660, more than a year earlier. "This day," John Evelyn wrote in his *Diary*, "His Majesty Charles II came to London after a sad and long exile and calamitous suffering both of King and Church, being seventeen years. This was also his birthday and with a triumph of above 20,000 horse and foot, brandishing their swords, and shouting with inexpressible joy, the ways strewn with flowers, the bells ringing, the streets hung with tapestry, fountains running with wine; the Mayor, Aldermen, and all the Companies in their liveries, chains of gold and banners; Lords and Nobles clad in cloth of silver, gold, and velvet, the windows and balconies all set with ladies; trumpets, music, and myriads of people flocking, even so far as Rochester."

The return of Charles II opened floodgates of loyalty on the part of the English public. A new life seemed to suffuse England. The monarch was cheered, wined, dined, and feted. He was showered with affection, sympathy, and tokens of admiration. Among those to give tangible proof of their esteem and homage was the East India Company, whose congratulatory gift to the king was plate valued at £3,000.

This gift proved an auspicious beginning to a friendship that lasted until the king's death in 1685, a friendship that was to prove the keystone to the Company's remarkable prosperity for years to come. The first tangible proof of Charles's interest in the affairs of the East India Company came soon after his accession when, on April 3, 1661, he granted a new charter—the first of five issued during his reign to the Company—confirming their grant of 1609, but adding many new privileges. Among these was the right to seize Interlopers, wage war and make peace with non-Christian princes, appoint governors, and exercise civil and criminal jurisdiction in its various settlements.

Indicative of Charles's friendly relations with the Company is the fact that its officials were often invited to meet him at his palace, gatherings in which the king promised to further their interests. Among participants on such occasions was Samuel Pepys, who wrote on December 6, 1661, in his *Diary*: "After dinner by appointment came the governor of the East India Company to sign and seal the contract between us, in the King's name, and them. And, that done, we all went to the King's closet, and there spoke with the King and Duke of York, who promise to be very careful of the India trade to the utmost."

That Charles II was eager to promote Far Eastern commerce and to protect the English Company in their difficulties with Dutch rivals at all times appears in his favorable reception of their petition for redress for injuries received at the hands of Hollanders in the Far East, especially at Pularoon. In this petition the English merchants contended that the treaty concluded by Cromwell with Holland had not been enforced, that injuries had not been redressed, that English ships were still being seized, that natives of Africa and the Indies were often induced by bribes to demolish English factories, and that Dutch ships continued to blockade Eastern ports. The adjustment of these grievances was a leading cause of Charles's Anglo-Dutch wars.

Yet neither foreign wars, the great plague of 1665, nor the London fire of 1666, with their grave economic consequences to England, could stem the unprecedented prosperity of the East India Company at this period. This was reflected in the value of the Company's stock which sold in 1665 at 70; in 1676, the year in which profits were added to capital, at 245; and, finally, at 500. Evelyn, a speculator in East India stock, writes in December, 1682, "I sold my East India adventure of £250 principal for £750 to the Royal Society, after I had been in the Company 25 years."

One cause of the remarkable prosperity of the Company under Charles II was the introduction into England in 1670 of India muslins, which now began to replace cambric, Silesia lawn, and linen imported from Flanders and Germany. India silks and painted calicoes also became popular at this period, and their appearance in fashionable circles created a brisk demand for Far Eastern fabrics.

As a result of this influx of India muslins, English linens lost their popularity, English merchants were affected, and the English public began to view with mistrust an organization whose wealth, it was believed, was derived from the pockets of its own poor weavers.

To refute insidious charges raised against the Company, in 1670 Sir Josia Child, a prominent merchant who was subsequently made governor of the Company, published a pamphlet, which ran into several editions, called *Discourses on Trade*. In his *Discourses* Sir Josia attempted to show what material benefits the Company was bringing to England; how its merchant marine consisted of thirty or forty fine vessels, each manned by from sixty to a hundred seamen; how these ships brought into England vast supplies of saltpeter, pepper, indigo, and drugs for home consumption and re-exportation to the value of several hundred thousand pounds annually; and how the value of goods imported was six times greater than that of specie exported.

Sir Josia's dissertation on behalf of trade monopoly, however, did not prove to be more than a temporary palliative to the English public. What had at first been merely an undercurrent of dissatisfaction against the exclusive trade rights of the Company soon took the form of an attack against its legal existence. One phase of this new movement was the appearance after 1670 of a series of anonymous pamphlets aimed at the Company.

One of these, published in 1676, was a letter, ostensibly the legal opinion of a Temple barrister to a country gentleman, advising him not to put his children's fortunes in East India Company bonds, because its legal status had not been validated by Parliament, and its stock might be declared worthless at any moment.

By 1680 the working classes, infected with the antimonopoly spirit, began to complain about the importation from India of painted calicoes, or chintzes. Finally, in 1681, widespread opposition to the Company developed when the silk weavers of Spitalfields backed a complaint for redress, which was submitted to Parliament, for injuries and losses suffered from importation of India silks and other fashionable fabrics, notwithstanding the fact that England could not produce these fabrics for her own consumption, and that France and

Italy could not supply the current demand for them in Great Britain. Another grievance aired by the workers was that the Company had sent dyers to Bengal to show the native weavers how to finish silks for the English market. The East India Company was also attacked at this same time by the Turkey Company, which claimed the exclusive right to the silk trade in England, based on its importation of raw silk.

These complaints, which took the form of a memorial to the Privy Council, were given a hearing, and the East India Company was asked to reply. Their defense was accepted by the Lords of the Privy Council, who dismissed the complaints of their opponents.

About this time, because of his outstanding importance in the economic and political life of England, Sir Josia Child was elected to the governorship of the East India Company. He had risen from apprentice to governor, and now guided the Company's destinies from 1681 until his death in 1697. His policy, constructive, forceful, and alert, was based on the Dutch policy of expansion, fortification, and self-protection in the Far East, and to him is due the first major fort building and territorial expansion undertaken by the Company in India. Sir Josia was also a shrewd manipulator of East India stock which he bought and sold through agents, and which netted him one of the great fortunes of England.

Sir Josia was a close friend of Charles II, a Tory and a staunch protectionist, and his election brought to a peak the rivalry of the Tory-Protectionist group, represented by the East India Company, and the Whig-Free Traders, represented by the private merchants who traded in the Orient, known as Interlopers.

A year later this party conflict became acute when, in 1682, the Interlopers, attracted by the unprecedented prosperity of the Company under the Restoration, sought a share in it by acquiring control of the Levant Company—a direct blow at the monopoly of their rivals. The cause of the Interlopers and the public at large was exposed by Thomas Papillon, who appealed to Parliament to establish or deny the legality of the East India monopoly. Opposed to him were Child, backed by Charles II, and the relatively small group of stockholders of the Company. The climax came in 1683 when Charles

II granted the Company letters patent for admiralty tribunals, giving them the right to confiscate the goods and ships of rivals.

The test case by which the rights of the East India Company were challenged, was that of Thomas Sandys, an Interloper. The trial, which was one of the most discussed and most important ever held in England, began in 1683 and lasted two years.

The Sandys case was tried before Lord Chief Justice Jeffreys and was fundamentally a test of the royal prerogative—whether or not Charles II had the right to regulate the commerce of the realm for the benefit of a small group of merchants. The argument advanced by the defense was based on the premise that no subject of England could trade with infidels, who were enemies of the realm, without a license from the king; that trade depended on the treaties or agreements of the king with foreign princes; and that since, legally, a monopoly is a grant "whereby persons are sought to be restrained of any freedom or liberty they had before or hindered in their lawful trade," the Interlopers had not suffered, since they had never had freedom of India trade.

The opposition based its arguments primarily on the statute of Edward III "that the sea shall be open to all manner of merchants," and whether Parliament or the king had the right to decide questions of monopoly.

After a heated debate, the Lord Chief Justice handed down a decision in favor of the Company. The results of the trial were twofold: Sir Josia Child, confident of his position, now began to prosecute Interlopers (in 1685 he brought to trial forty-eight) and independent merchants of London and Bristol began to outfit ships, ostensibly for Brazil, but actually bound for India, manned by lawless adventurers many of whom became privateers and even pirates.

Although the legal status of the Company had been clearly defined in England, the Interlopers openly defied the English factors who represented the London merchants out in India. Independent merchants, many of whom made vast fortunes, now sailed for the Far East, competed for native trade in the ports where the Company's representatives resided, underbid them, bribed the local officials, and succeeded frequently in gaining the support of the native rulers.

In 1685 the staunch supporter of the East India Company, Charles II, the friend of whom the London directors of the East India Company wrote, "there is nothing we can modestly ask for our Company, which His Majesty will not be pleased to grant us," passed away. Evelyn, describing his last days, portrays him as "a prince of many great virtues and many great imperfections, debonair, easy of access, not bloody, nor cruel, whose too easy nature resigned him to be managed by crafty men and abandoned and profane wretches." Whatever his virtues or defects, whatever the pecuniary advantages be derived from the Company, the death of their loyal supporter was an irreparable loss to the East India Company.

The regime of his successor, James II, whose rule of three years terminated in a sudden flight to France, was too brief and too involved to leave its impress on the East India Company, except for the grant of a charter. The ill-fated king had been a heavy speculator in and heavy owner of India stock, which he carried with him to Paris, where its sale netted him a large sum.

After the death of Charles II and the accession of James, scurrilous pamphlets directed against the Company began to appear even more frequently than before. The East India Company was now charged with allowing Jews and a few rich men to control the bulk of its stock; with having inflicted "great oppressions and injuries on the lives, liberties, and estates of their fallen subjects"; with having begun a war with the great mogul; with having put to death illegally certain Englishmen at St. Helena and Fort St. George; and with having expended large sums of the Company's money for bribes and special privileges. "'Tis evident," one critic observed, "they are become a dishonor to their nation."

✓ In England the fire of the press continued to pour on the Company. In a book published during the controversy, Sir Edwin Humphrey even went so far as to say that "the unaccountable war made with the mogul was undertaken for private base ends and purposes, and that the English nation, originally most esteemed and beloved of all European peoples, had been made to stink in the nostrils of that people."

An argument advanced to check the importation of East India

calico into England was the inflammability of the fabric. Lady Frederick's child, gossips said, was burned to death by flames igniting her calico frock; a section of St. Paul's school had been demolished when a calico bed and curtains caught fire; a merchant's house in Park Lane had burned to the ground because of the inflammability of its calico draperies.

Petitions against the Company continued to reach Parliament; among them were many signed by groups of manufacturers that contained long lists of East India commodities, with prices at which they were sold. "All these products," read a typical petition, "are purchased with our money, do exhaust the treasure of the nation, deprive the poor of their livelihood and hinder the consumption of our wool and products which will increase ad infinitum unless a stop be put to their consumption by the Honorable House." The action of the French king, who had destroyed all looms in his kingdom making cottons, lawns, and painted cloths and stopped exports from India to France to protect old and long-established home industries, was also cited.

Again in 1688 an appeal was made to Parliament to restrain the wearing of wrought silks, Bengals, and printed calicoes. A bill incorporating these restrictions was introduced by the manufacturers; it passed the House of Commons only to meet defeat in the House of Lords. Despite the outcry raised against silks and muslins imported from India, the loss of the Canterbury trade, and the wholesale exodus to Ireland of London silk weavers, the elite of the metropolis continued to wear fabrics representing the "mischief and wrong of a monopoly."

The revolution of 1688 which decided the vital issue, so long a point of party controversy, of whether the king's prerogative or Parliament should dictate the policies of England, decided at the same time the fate of the East India Company. With the fall of the Stuarts and the arrival of the sober Dutch king, William, from Holland, the rights of Parliament, rather than monarchs, began to predominate. As the pro-Parliament group gained in power, the anti-monopolistic cry was raised with renewed force against the East India Company.

More and more pressure was now brought to bear on Parliament to throw open Oriental trade to the public. As the agitation against them increased, the directors of the great Company resorted to bribes, public appeals, and multifarious arguments to retain its valuable monopoly. To appease the public a symposium of the Company's status was published showing how within the brief span of seven years, this mercantile organization had increased the maritime strength of England by sixteen large vessels, varying in size from 900 to 1,300 tons; how it had saved the pepper trade for England, after the loss of Bantam, by erecting forts in the Far East; how it had restored peace and order in Bombay and St. Helena, ended the Mogul war, and secured trade farmans.

These appeals to the English public fell, however, on deaf ears. A committee was appointed to look into the question of monopoly and on January 16, 1690, a report made in favor of forming a new company, legally chartered by Parliament. Ominous as was this decision to the future welfare of the Company, before any definite action was taken, King William dissolved Parliament.

One result of this parliamentary investigation was to strengthen the case of the Interlopers. Pooling their interests, they now organized and in 1691 began to hold regular meetings in impressive, heavily paneled rooms at Skinner's Hall in Dowgate. The outcome of these meetings was a systematic campaign by the Interlopers to break down the monopolists and win the support of Parliament.

The united Interlopers now became a force in English politics. Pressure was brought upon King William that same year to dissolve the old East India Company and organize a new group, but the king informed the House of Commons that he could not dissolve the East India Company without giving it three years' notice. He said, furthermore, that "all the subjects of England have equal right to trade to the East Indies unless prohibited by act of Parliament."

The concerted action of the Interlopers soon proved successful; in October, 1691, the House of Commons passed a resolution declaring that trade with the East Indies was beneficial to the entire nation, and should be carried on by a new joint-stock company. At this time the king, after consulting the Privy Council, informed Parliament

that instead of forming a new group he recommended that the old Company be dissolved, the stock of the old Company, valued at £740,000, raised to £2,000,000, new members incorporated with the old group, and a charter valid for twenty-one years issued to a new and enlarged company.

This compromise was bitterly opposed by Governor Child, but without success; and in February, 1693, the Commons extracted from the king a promise to dissolve the East India Company after giving it the required three years' notice. But before legal action was taken, King William's attention was diverted, and he left for France.

During the king's absence the aggressive and determined Governor Child, through failure, apparently deliberate, to pay certain taxes on the date due, thereby forfeited his charter. He appealed at once to have the Company's rights reinstated, asking at the same time for a new charter. This, known as the charter of William and Mary, which confirmed that issued by James II, was granted on October 7, 1693.

Armed with this charter, Governor Child now decided to attempt to check the Interlopers, whose concerted strength, directed at Parliament, was threatening to undermine his own Company. An Interloper ship, the *Redbridge*, carrying papers for Alicante, but actually bound for India, was detained by Child in the Thames.

The seizure of the *Redbridge* threw all London into an uproar. The question of its legality came before the House which, on January 19, 1694, decreed that all subjects of England had equal right to trade in India.

Many signs, in addition to the seizure of the *Redbridge*, indicated that times were changing. In 1695, a Scottish East India Company was organized by act of Parliament in Scotland, with rights to trade in Asia, Africa, and America, some £300,000—one-half of its total capital—being subscribed by Interlopers and independent merchants in London. But the East India Company raised such a clamor against this procedure that the king was forced to suppress the Company.

Another serious blow was aimed at the East India Company at this time when Parliament directed that an inquiry be made into charges of bribery that had been brought against its officers.

Commenting on the situation, in April, 1695, Pepys, secretary to the admiralty, wrote: "It has been discovered that prodigious bribes have been given out by some of the East India Company out of stock, which makes a great clamor." In the course of this investigation, several officials of the Company, including Governor Child, who were found guilty of having attempted to influence members of Parliament to check Interloping and of giving heavy bribes, were placed for a time in the Tower.

After this exposé of corrupt dealing on the part of the Company, popular feeling reached fever heat. The attitude of the press, the manufacturers, the laborers, and the rank and file of the public all had as their goal and definite end: dissolution of the East India Company's monopoly and free trade for England.

Protests against the Company at this time began to take the more active form of spectacular riots. Finally, in 1697, a concerted demonstration took place when three thousand weavers gathered before the home of Sir Josia Child in London, threatening to destroy it. This fresh outburst, accompanied by acts of physical violence, caused the East India Company to rise again in self-defense. So many heresies were being attributed to this venerable house by its acid critics that the Company commissioned Dr. Charles Davenant, inspector of customs, to write and publish *An Essay on the East India Trade*, pointing out what the Company had done for the commerce of England. Meanwhile, as dividends were passed, East India stock began to drop rapidly.

Technically, at least, the East India Company now found itself in a delicate and ambiguous position. By royal charter the Company was licensed to trade exclusively in the Orient, yet Parliament had said that all men should be privileged to share and share alike in the commerce of the high seas.

In 1698, a year after the weavers had "protested publickely" under Sir Josia's windows, Parliament again intervened in an attempt to adjust what had become an issue of the utmost gravity in England. The campaign plan devised at this time—one, incidentally, that would provide funds for Parliament—was an ingenious financial arrangement whereby the East India Company was induced to

offer loans to the Crown, a policy which the Company, in its weakened position, feared to oppose. Anticipating some unfavorable action on the part of Parliament, the Company now offered to advance for the public benefit £700,000 at a low rate of interest, provided Parliament confirmed their exclusive charter.

Another group, largely Interlopers, raised the amount to £2,000,000. The latter offer was accepted, and a bill introduced and passed by Parliament to form a new joint-stock company. Pepys wrote at this time, "The Old East India Company lost their business against the new Company by ten votes in Parliament, so many of their friends being absent going to see a tiger baited by dogs."

The act of 1698 provided that subscriptions for a loan of two millions sterling to the Crown should be thrown open to the public, and that each subscriber should be allowed to trade with India to the amount subscribed, interest on the loan to be secured by an assignment on duties from salt, parchment, vellum, and paper. This new group, called the General Society, was to have the exclusive right to trade with India and was to supersede the old Company, whose charter expired at the end of three years.

This act received the royal approval on July 5, 1698; on the fourteenth the books were opened, and two days later the entire amount had been subscribed. Among contributors were the king, who invested £10,000, the lords of the treasury, who subscribed £5,000 each, and several Interlopers, one of whom contributed £35,000. Through its treasurer the old Company subscribed £315,000, thus becoming one of the largest stockholders in the new group.

On September 5, 1698, William granted the General Society a permanent charter under the name of "The English Company trading to the East Indies," a document of sixty-five pages defining its privileges. Simultaneously the stock of the old Company, which was allowed three years to close out its affairs, began to drop heavily, sliding from a high of 300 to a low of 37.

The sad fate of the old East India Company did not escape the wags of the day. From the pen of an anonymous poet comes the *Elegy on the Death of the Old East India Company, who died of a wound she received from a patent, value two millions*:

"Fate has prevailed and cross'd 'em in their labours,
And Leaden-Hall must lose her Leaden neighbors.
Their Gems, their silks, their muslins and their spices,
Cannot revoke what's owing to their Vices.
Nor the rich *Tavistock* with all her lading
Make up their Breaches, or support their Trading,
Which bends its head, and yielding to desclension,
Defies their *Advocate's* sublime invention,
To find out *Ways* to make grim Death forbear 'em,
Though skilled in matters *Legum Romanarum*:
Or from his dusky *Codes* and *Digests* tell 'em
How to prevent the mischiefs which befell 'em."

The old East India Company was not content to see its century-old organization dissolved in favor of a new group. A petition to be allowed to continue as a corporation was presented and on February 12, 1700, granted. The king's consent to this group, capitalized at £315,000, was given with the famous words, *Le Roy le veut*. The granting of this petition raised East India stock to 149.

This extension of charter to the old Company was a serious blow to the new group. Ships owned and managed by rival companies now competed openly in the India market; presidents were sent out by both groups to Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras, now important commercial centers, and trade conditions disrupted the market. The London market was flooded with merchandise that would not sell, Parliament was besieged by both groups seeking favors, and the interests of the rival companies became the paramount issue at all elections.

At this time heavy duties were levied against Oriental commodities, muslins and calicoes paying 10 per cent and coffee and tea 15 per cent duties. A bill was also introduced in the House to levy further taxes on cloth. The bill caused heated arguments. Such a measure, it was said, would prohibit trade, encourage smuggling, prevent the Company from exporting woolens, and give the trade to its Dutch rivals. Opposition to its passage was also voiced by the united Clothiers and Fullers of Gloucester, Devon, Oxford, Worcester, York, Dorset, and Wiltshire, from whom the East India Company had been purchasing annually for exportation woolens to the

value of £100,000 which had supplied employment to no fewer than 40,000 families.

To protect home manufacturers and stem the influx of Bengal silks, legislation was passed in 1700 prohibiting the wearing of all wrought silks, Bengals, silks mixed and painted, and stained or dyed calicoes, under penalty of £200 fine.

Any action the government might take, however, seemed ineffectual to restore peace and order, and in 1702 the decision was reached to force the two companies to unite. This was accomplished by what was known as the tripartite indenture between the two companies and Queen Anne, which was later ratified in 1708 under the Godolphin award. The new company agreed to lend the Crown £3,200,000 with interest at 5 per cent in return for exclusive trading privileges which were to cease at three years' notice, after this amount had been repaid. The two companies were allowed seven years to wind up their affairs.

The amalgamation required considerable financial adjustment; a survey of the debts and assets of the two companies was made, and stock in the new group apportioned to them accordingly. Finally by act of Parliament on March 20, 1708, the capital stock of £3,200,000 was voted, and all questions, disputes, and readjustments were placed in the hands of the Earl of Godolphin to settle under what was known as the Godolphin award.

One of the conditions of the award was the surrender by the old Company of its charter and all its rights, privileges, and capacities to the new group which was known officially as the "United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies."

The old East India Company went out of existence on July 22, 1702, when the Company, by deed of conveyance, released its vast holdings to the United Company. In the past century, many trading posts had been established. In his *Compendium of East Indian Affairs* Robert Wissert lists the following properties that passed from the old to the new group at this time. These were:

"The ports and islands of Bombay and St. Helena, the forts of Mazagon, Mahim, Syon, Syr, and Warree, the factories of Surat, Swally, Broach, Ahmadabad, Agra, and Lucknow, the forts of Kar-

war, Tellicherry, Anjengo, and Calicut, and the factories of Gombroon, Shiraz, and Ispahan in Persia, with the yearly rent of £3,333, granted them by the Sophy of Persia, also on the Coromandel Coast, Chingleput, Orissa, and Fort St. George, with the fort, its city, and dependencies which cover three miles of adjacent country, the factories of Cuddalore, Porto Novo, Petapoli, Metchlapatam, Madapollam, the fort and factory of Vizigapatam, the settlement of York Fort at Bencoolen, and the factories in Sumatra, the factories of Indrapore, Priamon, Sillebar and others dependent on Bencoolen, the factory of Tonquin in Cochin China, also Fort William in Bengal, and the factories of Chuttanuttee, with its territories, the factories of Balasore, Kasimbazar, Dacca, Hugli, Malda, Rajmahal, and Patna, their right to Bantam, or any other settlements in the South Seas, and all other forts, etc., between the Cape of Good Hope and the Straits of Magellan, and, lastly, their warehouses and premises in Great St. Helen's, London."

The Godolphin award, dated September 29, 1708, marks the dawn of a new age for Anglo-Indian commerce. During the first half of the eighteenth century difficulties with the Crown over charter rights were negligible. In 1711 an act of Parliament extended the Company's privileges to 1733; and in 1730 the Company's charter was extended to 1769 by an additional loan to the Crown. Various sums, in the form of royal requests for loans, were paid into the royal treasury at this time, bearing interest averaging 3 per cent, loans which the Company usually made without complaint, regarding them as an inevitable accompaniment of its trade privileges.

The decades prior to 1750 were rich years for the new Company. Exports increased from £500,000 to over a million, as did imports. Dividends were paid regularly, at a rate fluctuating between 6 and 12 per cent. As the coffee and tea trade increased, more and more ships were sent to the East until as many as twenty East Indiamen were dispatched annually to India. These forty-odd years of peace, stability, and prosperity, years that established the financial status of the Company on a firm basis, made possible its survival during the stormy days that lay ahead.

CHAPTER X

Policies and Politics in India

ALTHOUGH INDIA WAS REMOTE from the scene of these political disturbances in England, yet their effect on the East India Company's commercial activities in Asia cannot be overestimated. As the seventeenth century drew to a close the Anglo-Indian situation was aggravated by events on the European continent. Europe now became what might be termed a political chessboard, a board on which rival nations maneuvered and fought for advantageous positions. So complicated did their strategy become, and so disastrous were the wars that followed, that for the next fifty years Europe became a veritable charnel house.

While wars were devastating Europe, out in India Hindus and Moguls were engaged in their private game of martial chess, a game in which the dexterity of their moves, or military tactics, which exceeded in magnitude and scope even those of contemporary Europe, reacted swiftly, subtly, and at times with crushing force on the prosperity of the East India Company.

Of these two continental imbroglios, the most vital in its effect on the East India Company was the European conflict, which for several decades was the deciding factor behind the policies formulated by the Company's board of directors in London. Both in Europe and Asia, the political situation involved three major powers, Holland, France, and Portugal, whose alliances, animosities, and respective representatives stationed out in the Far East kept it in a state of turmoil and unrest. Out of the troubles bred of their rivalry which culminated in economic, political, and commercial disaster, England was destined to erect the foundations of a great overseas empire, one carved out of the mistakes and misfortunes of her enemies and neighbors.

Among curious phases of this conflict between England, France, and Holland was the fact that in Europe the political situation was often the reverse of the commercial relationship in the Far East. This anomalous status was especially striking with the English and Dutch, a friendly alliance between them in Europe being offset by keen commercial animosity in the East. The problem Charles II faced in this dilemma was how to keep peace in Holland in the face of disputes arising over commerce in the Far East.

To trace even superficially the alliances, counteralliances, and wars in which Charles II was involved after the Restoration, is unimportant, except for one salient point: all were concerned directly or indirectly with commercial and colonial aspirations and animosities, and especially with Dutch attempts to check English expansion in the Orient. The fate of the East India Company was thus decided not in the Orient, or in England, but on the battlefields of Europe, in the series of wars that followed the Restoration.

In England, shortly after the Restoration, two powerful political parties had sprung into existence. One, for which the East India Company served as a rallying center, was strongly anti-Dutch, a fact which Charles II and later James II were forced to recognize and face; the other, pro-Dutch and largely Protestant, looked hopefully toward William of Orange as their ultimate protector and saviour from Catholic oppression in England. Charles II attempted, albeit indifferently, to keep peace between factions, and endeavored to placate Holland, whose trade had suffered severely from the English Navigation Act of 1651.

In this the English monarch was not successful. The first war in which Charles II became involved was the Dutch war of 1665 which resulted in the loss to England of the bulk of the spice trade, and the loss to the Dutch of the valuable little island of Pularoon. By 1666 Holland had added to her forces those of her ally, France, to whom the India trade, since the foundation of a French East India Company in 1664, was of consummate importance. This war was terminated in 1667 by the treaty of Breda, whereby Pularoon passed permanently to Holland, and England acquired New York.

In 1668, however, there was an abrupt change of alliances; what

was known as the Triple Alliance—England, Holland, and Sweden—now mobilized against France. Another swift change followed in 1672 when England's former enemy, France, joined her in attacking Holland. While the war lasted, Dutch fleets out in India harassed English ships plying between Surat and Bombay; in 1672 England was forced to send 6,000 men to protect Bombay against the enemy; and St. Helena was captured during a Dutch attack.

Six years passed, then another alliance, that of England and Holland against France, once more precipitated war on the continent. Then came the Reformation of 1688, "a happy and glorious revolution," a movement to broaden the rights of individuals and restrict the power of Parliament, policies followed by William and Mary.

The European situation reached a climax when, in 1691, William III formed a vast alliance which united the Germanic states, Spain, and Holland against Louis XIV. In the destructive war that followed, the drain on France was so great that hopes of colonial expansion were ended, and Holland was financially unable to strengthen or increase her posts, forts, and factories in the Far East. The Peace of Ryswick in 1697 afforded a temporary respite to a war-weary Europe; but the long years of strife that soon followed completed the havoc wrought in Spain, France, Holland, and England.

This half-century of strife on the battlefields of Europe was based not only on political difficulties at home but to a considerable extent on commercial aspirations in the Orient, having as its goal a monopoly of the East India trade. Before the wars Portuguese prestige in Europe and Asia was definitely on the wane and unable to withstand the drain of conflict in Europe. France, however, had designs on India especially along the Coromandel Coast; while the Dutch, with their immense capital, forts, castles, and Asiatic fleets, all backed by a wealthy, energetic, and united Dutch Company, were already strongly entrenched in the Far East.

Of the value of the commerce for which European nations were fighting so desperately in Europe there was little doubt. In fact many believed that the Oriental spice trade would prove as rich and as valuable to England, France, or Holland as the gold of Peru

and Mexico had been to Spain. A leading English writer and friend of the East India Company, Sir Charles Davenant, whose *Essay on the East India Trade* and *Discourses* were important economic treatises of that day, pointed out clearly to the English public the importance, from a commercial, financial, and political angle, of a foothold in India, adding that the loss to England of her India commerce, whether from pirates, Interlopers, or foreign wars, would mean the end of half of her foreign trade, and would lead inevitably to the loss of the dominion of the seas. "Whatever country can be in full possession of their trade," he wrote prophetically, "will give law to all the commercial world." For England to acquire commercial supremacy in the Orient, this economist pointed out, "was the direct path to becoming a second Rome, and the head of a vast colonial empire."

While Dr. Davenant was urging colonial expansion for England, over on the Continent Gottfried Leibnitz was advising Louis XIV to acquire Egypt, the gateway to the Orient, and territory in India. Leibnitz, more fully than many of his contemporaries, saw that the great Mogul empire, long the dominating force in India, was showing signs of exhaustion, like Europe, under the strain of prolonged war, and was in danger of collapsing when the venerable Aurangzeb passed away.

The French traveler, François Bernier, saw and wrote of this same impending decay, describing "a tyranny often so excessive as to deprive the peasant and artisan of the necessities of life, that drives the cultivator of the soil from his wretched hovel." It is owing to this "miserable system," he adds, "that most Indian towns are made up of earth, mud, and other wretched materials; that there is no city or town which, if it be not altogether ruined or deserted, does not bear evident marks of approaching decay."

Timely as was the advice of the sage Leibnitz, Louis XIV was so concerned with retaining his position in Europe that he gave little heed to expansion in the Far East, even losing for a time his colony of Pondicherry.

Unsettled conditions during the half-century of conflict in Europe added to the Hindu-Mogul wars in India had a paralyzing effect

for a time on the East India Company's settlements out in India. This effectually checked what progress they had made in the prosperous years that followed the Restoration, when Madras first became a thriving colony and head of the Company's East Coast factories; when Bengal with its saltpeter and silk became the East India Company's most lucrative source of revenue; when Bombay with its large English colony supplanted Surat as the center of English factories in western India.

In the Far East, a direct result of the restraints placed on trade by wars at home and abroad was the amalgamation, consolidation, and unification of commercial interests at the Company's forts. While many minor factories were abandoned at this period, yet the major posts survived, emerging from this period with far stronger fortifications, better government, and a closer feeling of loyalty and kinship than before. The local feuds so characteristic of life at East India ports were largely buried; and the factors who had divided for many years into hostile groups, composed on the one hand of Puritans sent out under the Commonwealth, and on the other of Royalists, appointed under the Restoration, forgot their petty troubles and united to save their settlements from external foes.

These improvements seemed to infuse new vigor into the English factors in India. Now, for the first time, the desire of the London office was to make its factories self-sufficient; to be able to protect themselves in the event of war; able to stand, financially at least, on their own feet. The placid trader of old, unarmed, essentially pacific, and wholly mercenary-minded, was now superseded by one war-minded and aggressive who desired for the Company colonial expansion patterned along lines of the aggressive Dutch system. Dutch and Portuguese success in the Far East had been based on a system unlike that used by England, a system of small factories protected by strong forts, capable of withstanding a fair-sized army. The English Company's classic principle of quiet trade, based on peacefully acquired farmans, was now abandoned in favor of a new policy: that trade must be supplemented by additional revenues, and protected, when the need arose, by arms.

For added safety, centralization, and ease of administration at

this period, the port-to-port trade was now abandoned, many factories in Upper India, notably at Agra and Lucknow, were closed permanently, and the remaining posts grouped into three main units with headquarters at Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras.

✓ What precautions for self-defense had been taken were inadequate, however, to withstand the war into which, in 1687, the English in India were plunged when the East India Company, weary of the constant insecurity of their private property, unjust taxes, imprisonment of its factors, and trade strangulation, boldly declared war on the omnipotent mogul, Aurangzeb. Such a declaration on the part of the board of directors in London, who were not fully informed as to conditions in India, ended with the defeat of the English forces. The terms of peace to which they were forced by the mogul to submit three years later were humiliating in the extreme to England.

By the time the Mogul-English difficulties had ended, the English factories in India were in a precarious plight. The full strength of the Reformation was now being felt in the Far East, where the insistent clamor of the English public for free trade was slowly undermining the financial structure of the East India Company's colonial holdings. Interlopers, furthermore, were becoming bolder, more aggressive, and more domineering in India. By trading at ports heretofore held exclusively by the London Company and by annoying and disturbing the Company's servants, not only did they disrupt trade, but also seriously damaged the reputation and standing of all Englishmen in India.

The licensing by the Crown of a new Company to trade in the Far East fell like a thunderbolt on the old group, demoralizing the factors of the old Company out in India, whose positions were jeopardized after officials of the new Company began reaching the Orient. Many men chosen by the new Company for India posts were servants of the old group who had been dismissed for incompetency, dishonesty, or corrupt practices, and whose sole qualifications were their experience in the Far East. Undoubtedly the weakness of their past records explains why they proved failures in most factories to which they were now sent by the new group;

and why their arrogant and high-handed treatment of the officials of the old East India Company, into whose territory they were sent, led to so much dissension and misery. Members of this new Company began in 1699 to reach India where they attempted to superimpose their rights based on "parliamentary sanction" on the century-old rights based on kings' charters.

Among the first of these arrivals was Sir Edward Littleton, a man of questionable character who had been expelled from the old East India Company in 1682, and who was now sent out as governor of Bengal. In Bengal, where he attempted to seize the old Company's property for his new group, he was opposed by a loyal servant of the old group, John Beard, a man of irreproachable character who held the important post of governor of Fort William at Calcutta. All attempts on the part of Sir Edward Littleton to demand subservience and obedience from John Beard, however, were ignored, for the old governor merely nailed upon the gates of his fort a notice requesting all English factors connected with the old Company to decline to obey any orders issued by the new governor, Littleton, and to continue business as usual.

Even without this open reprimand on the part of the old governor, Sir Edward found his new role in India a difficult one. Several members of his council, on whom he had relied for support, fell ill, died, or deserted. His much-vaunted "parliamentary sanction" failed to impress the natives, who preferred to trade with the old Company with whose personnel and methods they had long been familiar. Another serious obstacle blocked Sir Edward's path; for the irrepressible John Beard refused to show the new governor his old trading permits, or farmans, outlining the terms under which the East India Company operated.

Farther down the coast at Masulipatam and Madras, another bitter local feud between officials of the old and new groups also occurred. In charge at this time of Fort St. George at Madras was one of the pillars of the old East India Company, the "Great President" Thomas Pitt. By a strange coincidence, one of Governor Pitt's relatives, young John Pitt, was now appointed by the new Company to a similar office in Madras, and upon reaching the east

coast in July, 1699, John Pitt refused to salute the flag flying from the English fort, ordering it to be lowered in his honor. This, and other high-handed acts, incensed the old governor, who, as John Beard had done in Bengal, instructed his factors not to obey any orders of the new group. Thomas Pitt's sternness and unwillingness to yield an ounce of advantage to his young relative reacted inevitably to the disadvantage of the latter, whose career in India was a failure.

✓ In the Surat-Bombay area, the third of the trio of the East India Company's presidencies, the antagonism between officials of the two groups soared to even greater heights. Bombay, which in 1687 superseded Surat as head of the Company's affairs on the west coast, was the presidency that had suffered most severely from the wars of the Hindu rebel Sivaji and the mogul Aurangzeb, and from pirates; it was the presidency nearest England, and the presidency that controlled the line of communication with the mogul in the interior. Here a serious situation developed when Sir Nicholas Waite, who had been sent to Surat to represent the new group, warned the mogul that the old Company's officers were implicated in piracy. To the mogul this was an extremely tender subject, for the losses suffered at the hands of pirates by his Surat-Mocha vessels had embittered him toward all Englishmen. His reply was to issue a proclamation ordering the goods and persons of all Englishmen to be seized. A wholesale series of arrests followed, especially among defenseless factors of the new group in Bengal, who were captured without warning in their up-country posts. Others, warned in time, took refuge behind the walls of Fort William.

At Surat Sir John Gayer, an important official termed "General of India," his wife, and several factors representing the old Company were taken to jail where, unable to raise the large sums demanded for ransom, they remained for several years. The length of their imprisonment—Sir John was not released until 1710—was believed to have been caused by Governor Waite, who was reported to have bribed the native rulers to keep Gayer in confinement, while he assumed charge of trade on the west coast.

What the new Company now needed above all else was to estab-

lish friendly relations with Indian rulers. It also needed to find a way to acquire for themselves the contacts, friendships, and trade connections out in the Far East that the old Company had been slowly engaged, for the past century, in creating. The new Company felt that the easiest way to accomplish its purpose was by implanting in the Indian mind the idea that the new group was richer, more important, and more friendly than the old merchants; and, in so far as possible, by harassing, humiliating, and defying the servants of their semimoribund rival in India.

One of the policies of the new Company was to attempt to form alliances with important native rulers, from whom it desired to procure the protection, permits, and trade concessions so vital to their welfare. Friendships with Mogul rulers had proved invaluable to servants of the old East India Company when they first reached India; but times had changed and now Aurangzeb, absorbed since 1660 with wars in the Deccan, was less favorably disposed toward foreigners than his immediate predecessors had been. Notwithstanding, conditions were now so unsettled in India and losses suffered by English commerce from Aurangzeb's wars were so considerable that definite steps toward a better understanding seemed imperative.

✓ Backed by the king, and with the support and co-operation of Parliament, early in January a prominent member of Parliament, William Norris, was appointed ambassador to the court of Aurangzeb and other Indian princes to enlist support on behalf of the new Company. King William III even gave Norris a letter to be presented to the mogul, quaintly signed "Your loving friend, William R," in which he outlined the benefits to be derived from prosperity, which could be fostered by assisting and encouraging English commerce.

In addition to what was in the king's letter, the official instructions given to Sir William were brief, concise, and to the point. "Do all you can," he was instructed, "to protect all our subjects and to procure them redress in their just complaints and grievances, to procure such settlements of factories, capitulations, immunities, and privileges for our subjects as may be necessary for their security

and protection in the carrying on and management of their trade and commerce. You shall also acquaint the mogul of the great care His Majesty has taken to suppress pirates in the East Indies, sending a squadron of men of war, and bringing such as are found here to justice."

✓ Sir William was charged to assure the mogul as well of the "honest and upright" intentions of the new group, and to persuade, cajole, or bribe him (to the amount of 20,000 rupees) into giving the new Company the same privileges granted the old East India group. He also was told to bend every effort to secure concessions, especially freedom from customs, in Bengal and Golconda, now the center of the most popular Anglo-India commerce.

Sir William Norris was the only ambassador that had been sent to India since the days of Sir Thomas Roe. The mission was considered so important that before he left England Sir William was knighted, presented with a gold-hilted sword, awarded a salary of £2,000, and supplied with a large retinue of retainers for whose good conduct, incidentally, he was held responsible. Although the mission was planned on a scale commensurate with its importance, yet the Ambassador was told to use "as much good husbandry and frugality in all the expenses of the Company as is consistent with the nature of such an office."

Through some misunderstanding as to where he could find the mogul, Sir William disembarked on his mission on September 25, 1699, at Masulipatam, almost a thousand miles from where Aurangzeb was fighting in the Deccan. There he remained for a time until the supplies, equipment, and funds which he expected the Company's factories in India to supply were received. The list of equipment considered necessary by Sir William—twenty-three tents, six canopies, six horses, carts, three tent-boats, carpets, planks, tin bars, and iron to a value of several thousand rupees—was so extensive that it could not be purchased at local ports and so the ambassador could not leave there until December of the following year. Then, at the suggestion of Sir Nicholas Waite, president of Surat, he sailed for Swally, the port of Surat.

Having reached Surat, a town fairly accessible to Aurangzeb's

camp, on January 27, 1701, the Ambassador, accompanied by sixty Europeans and three hundred natives carrying gifts for the mogul, left for the interior. On the fourth of April, Panalla Fort, where Aurangzeb was directing military operations, was reached. Three weeks later Sir William paid his official call on the great mogul, now an aged ruler who, exhausted by campaigns, had become a religious fanatic. The meeting took place with the pageantry Sir William considered so essential a part of his mission; spectators reported it as "a sight to gladden a jaded Oriental eye." In the impressive procession arranged by Sir William that approached the palace bearing gifts for Aurangzeb were twelve carts, carrying brass guns, five wagons piled high with cloth, one hundred porters carrying China and looking glasses, four Arabian horses, and an escort of servants, officers and soldiers, many richly garbed and on horse-back, waving flags as the bands played. The English ambassador, followed by four pages, was carried in an elaborate palanquin into the palace where he was received by Aurangzeb.

✓ The pomp and ceremony of Sir William's visit appeared to impress Aurangzeb, who affably promised the new Company farmans to trade in the three presidencies of Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras. Notwithstanding the mogul's apparent friendliness and facile promises, days and weeks passed by, yet the promised farmans were not delivered. Further interviews with Aurangzeb disclosed the true facts of the situation: that the mogul was unwilling to grant permits unless the new Company assumed full responsibility for all piratical acts committed on the high seas against Mogul vessels.

✓ Aurangzeb's stand, the outgrowth of a deep-seated grievance, was a situation that Sir William was unable to surmount. Yet inasmuch as the mogul had already forced English, French, and Dutch factors at Surat to agree to make good any losses suffered by pirates, and as the ambassador was unwilling to shoulder for England alone burdens already shared by three nations, Sir William offered the mogul instead a lac of rupees (100,000). Apparently the difficulties and misunderstandings that arose at this time between the Englishman and Aurangzeb were based on the failure of Norris to make the mogul understand that English pirates flying English flags had no connection with the East India Company.

Sir William's attempts to explain the presence in India of two rival groups of English merchants were likewise lost on the mogul, who, baffled by the situation, wrote to a holy priest of Surat, Said Sedula, for his opinion. His holy adviser, however, who proved to be a bribe-seeker, attempted to force the old Company to pay him 10,000 rupees in return for sending Aurangzeb a favorable report about them.

Disheartened by Aurangzeb's procrastination and worried by rumors from England that the old Company had received a new charter from Parliament, on November 5 Sir William began the return journey to the coast. Having left without mentioning his departure to the mogul, en route to Surat the English ambassador was intercepted at Burhanpuri by messengers from His Highness who delivered to him a letter and sword to be presented to the king of England. After endless delay at the latter town, on March 12 he reached Surat. There he quarreled openly with the president of the new Company, Sir Nicholas Waite, by whom he was accused of incompetency, and also (the embassy had cost 676,880 rupees) of extravagance. Unpleasant as the argument proved, yet both Waite and Norris knew that diplomatically, commercially, and financially the embassy of Sir William was a distinct failure. Cutting short his visit at Surat, the ambassador sailed from India on the first ship leaving for England. On his way home he fell ill and on October 10, 1702, died at sea near St. Helena.

✓ By 1702 the difficulties and complications at home and abroad had reduced the rival companies to a state of abject lethargy. The factories could not prosper in the face of the political confusion in India, attacks by Indian rulers, competition of two groups, unjust imprisonment of factors, and open hostility between servants of the two companies.

Such conduct, misunderstandings, and enmities came close to wrecking not only the old, but the new Company in India. The new Company's policy was an acknowledged failure; critics unanimously agreed that "all the projects of the English Company in India and China terminated in disasters and losses from the intemperate proceedings of their presidents, Sir Nicholas Waite, Thomas Pitt, and Sir Edward Littleton.

Bombay: The Key to India

TO THE TRAVELER, the Bay of Bombay presents a spectacular sight. Bombay Island, 11 miles long and 3 wide, rises majestically from the sea, flanked by parallel rows of hills, a continuation of the great chain along the coast. On the southwest corner is the harbor, measuring 5 by 7 miles, Mazagon Bay with its shipping, and the ever-active waterfront. Behind the bay towers Malabar Hill, dotted with handsome residences. Beyond the city lie swamps, rice and paddy fields, groves of coconuts, palms, mangoes, and the Mahim wood for which Bombay is famous. "Bombaim and the islands nearby," an early visitor wrote, "are the most fruitful of all India and supplyes all those parts with sugar, rice, cokernutts, and salt. The harbour of Bombaim is the noblest that ever I see, the ayre is healthfull, and it is exceedingly well-seated for trade."

In the first century the Greek cosmographer, Claudius Ptolemy, published in his *Geography* a map showing near the west coast of India an island which he called Heptanesia. To later Europeans this island, one of a group defining the entrance to a great harbor, was known from time to time as Mahim, Bonne Bay, Bombaim, Good Bay, and, finally, Bombay.

Its earliest inhabitants, a race of farmers and fishermen who were already occupying it by the Christian era, called the land Numba, or Mumba, Devi, in honor of an ancient goddess whose image once stood near the present esplanade. As civilization advanced, in 1294 the Hindu king, Bhima, founded on the island a town called Nahim, or Mahim, which, some fifty years later, passed into the control of Mohammedans who invaded Bombay from the north.

In their hands Mahim remained until 1534 when it was ceded

to Portuguese colonists, many of whom had already settled nearby at Bassein, or further south at Goa. These Portuguese settlers proved cruel, intolerant, and harsh; the vast fiefs into which the island was divided and given to farmers in return for rentals, or military services, failed to prosper. Gradually these settlers succumbed to drink, inertia, and vice; intermarrying with the natives produced weak stock; and the luxurious villas in which they lived became rundown and neglected. On the island the strongest Portuguese centers were the Jesuit colleges and monasteries. By 1650 Bombay had a population estimated at from ten to twenty thousand, many of whom lived on the hundred or more estates into which the island was divided. Chief of these holdings was Mazagon, a large plantation owned by Alvarez Perez de Tavora.

By the first decades of the sixteenth century, the English factors stationed up the coast at Surat had already recognized the superior advantages of this port. In 1626, an unsuccessful attempt was made to capture it, and, when this failed, the council at Surat recommended that the East India Company purchase it from Portugal. Finally, in 1654, the directors of the Company pointed out to Cromwell the advantages to be derived from control of this harbor, urging him to acquire it for England. Seven years later Lord Clarendon approached the Company to find out if they would be willing to take over Bombay, only to find them, for financial reasons, unwilling to shoulder new obligations.

By this time the Far East had assumed international importance. At home England was alarmed over the commercial prestige of the Dutch in the Far East, with its threat of control of the coveted spice and pepper trade. Portugal was engaged in a bitter struggle with Spain and the United Provinces, which she could scarcely hope to conquer single-handed. To strengthen his political situation, Charles II decided to ally himself by marriage with the throne of Portugal, and by so doing extend his hold in the Far East.

On June 23, 1661, a marriage treaty was signed by the English monarch and Alphonso VI of Portugal whereby the former was to espouse the Portuguese princess. The dowry of the princess, to whose charms Charles II was wholly indifferent, included Tangier, the

Island of Bombay, and £500,000. Commenting on the alliance, Pepys wrote in his *Diary*, "The Portugalls have choused us it seems on the Island of Bombay." What was not included in the open treaty was a secret agreement made with Portugal, and deposited in Lord Clarendon's strong box, whereby England was to help fight the battles of Portugal in India.

From a political standpoint, the Queen's dowry of Bombay suited the needs of the hour. England celebrated the acquisition of this Portuguese port by sending out five ships and five hundred troops in command of the Earl of Marlborough to take over the island. With them went Sir Abraham Shipman, who had been appointed by the Crown as governor, with instructions to promote trade and encourage the king's subjects to become colonists. His official task was to receive the island from the Portuguese.

Upon reaching Bombay in September, 1662, the English commander found to his chagrin and consternation that the Portuguese viceroy refused to deliver up the island, despite orders from the Portuguese government to this effect. His excuse was that his instructions "ordered him not to surrender the place without His Majestie of England's immediate letter." If rumors that were rife at the time are to be believed, the Jesuits of Bandora had bribed the viceroy to withhold Bombay. Further evidences of duplicity were disclosed when a Brahmin, sent apparently by a religious sect in Bombay, approached Shipman and urged him to take the town by force, "assuring him of their readiness to assist him with 1,000 small shott, being very much oppressed with the Portugezes that have dominion over them."

The king's officers now found themselves face to face with a situation of the utmost gravity. After many arguments, differences of opinion, and even quarrels, Shipman decided to appeal to the authorities at Goa, while Marlborough went north to Swally, en route to England. Meeting with slight courtesy and encouragement at Goa, Shipman established quarters for himself and his men nearby on the small island of Angediva. On May 1, 1663, almost two years after the marriage treaty had been signed, word of the Portuguese treachery at Bombay reached England. An official pro-

test was rushed to the court of Lisbon, demanding punishment of the viceroy, reparation for expenses incurred by Marlborough's expedition, and the immediate cession of Bombay to England.

While diplomatic maneuvers were taking place at Lisbon and London, out on the tiny island of Angediva Shipman and his men were slowly dying of sickness and starvation. On April 6, 1664, Shipman passed away, half of his men having already died before him. Before his death he had made a desperate appeal to the English factors at Surat to take over Bombay for the East India Company, an appeal that Oxenden, lacking authority, refused to heed.

On his deathbed Shipman appointed his secretary, Humphrey Cooke, to act as governor *ad interim*. Instructions had now reached Goa from Lisbon to release Bombay to the English, and Cooke was called to the mainland for this purpose. At Goa the viceroy procrastinated still further, "the soldjery and myselfe," so Cooke writes, "lying aboard in the hott sunn all the time, which was not a little troublesome."

Formal possession of Bombay was finally taken by Cooke on February 8, 1665, at the great house of Donna Ignés de Miranda, and a treaty of surrender and delivery signed, ten days later, by the Portuguese at Bassein. What remained of the depleted English garrison of five hundred—one ensign, four sergeants, six corporals, four drummers, ninety-seven privates, a provost-marshal, a surgeon, two gunners, and a storekeeper—now moved over to the island.

Cooke's new role as temporary governor was unpleasant and difficult. His colonists were unruly; there was constant danger of attack by the Dutch; Sivaji's pirates were growing more and more aggressive; aid from the royal Crown was slow in arriving; and the East India Company's officials at Surat, headed by Sir George Oxenden, were indifferent to the welfare of the Bombay group.

Meanwhile in London matters pertaining to Bombay were progressing with measured slowness. Toward the end of 1665, a new governor, Sir Gervase Lucas, an ardent loyalist and old friend of King Charles, was appointed by the Crown to rule Bombay, and plans made to strengthen the new port in India. Among perquisites asked by Sir Gervase upon this occasion were two suits of armor,

six cases of pistols, and twelve carbines from the Tower. Of the pressing need for such equipment there is abundant evidence; for a letter, telling of Lucas's safe arrival at Bombay on November 5, 1666, adds, "Hee having most miraculously escaped being taken by fower Mallabar fragatts."

Upon reaching his new post Sir Gervase found Bombay Island "for all its magnitude, one of the most pleasurable and profitable islands in India." His task of fortifying the old Portuguese city, handling complicated revenues, warding off Mogul advances, Jesuit intrigues, and Portuguese counterplots, was cut short, however, on May 21, 1667, by his sudden death of a "lethargy which held him 24 heures." Had Sir Gervase lived to continue a task so well begun, the destiny of Bombay might have been vitally affected.

Lucas was succeeded by Henry Gary, a man who governed in a high-handed manner, and who was constantly at odds with Shipman's secretary, former governor Cooke, whose desire to occupy the governor's chair himself was known throughout Bombay.

By this time the acquisition of Bombay was already proving a burden to the English monarch. Rumors of Portuguese attempts to repurchase the island were beginning to be oppressive; the colonists were writing home begging the king not to abandon them to the Portuguese; the East India Company was already warning the Crown that their Bombay governors were causing friction at Surat, and funds required to support the colony were running low.

This was the situation when, in March, 1667, Lord Clarendon dropped a judicious hint to the directors of the East India Company in London, that the door was open for the acquisition of Bombay. The Company, eager to acquire the plum it had so long desired to replace their old holdings at Surat, sent a delegate to the chancellor to sound out the king's wishes in the matter. By November the king's need for money had become so urgent that the Company's representatives were again summoned to Whitehall.

These had been trying years for King Charles. Since 1665 he had been at war with Holland, whose army had been later strengthened by the forces of Louis XIV. The outcome of the struggle, two years later, had been the Treaty of Breda, which, although attempt-

ing to reach an amicable adjustment of all commercial disputes, had been unable to remove the basic aggressiveness of the Dutch in the Far East, the insidious jealousy of the Portuguese, or the commercial threat offered by Colbert in the form of a newly organized French East India Company.

In this crisis, Charles's immediate need for funds was more pressing than the retention of an expensive little colony out in India. At the king's palace on the Thames, arrangements were made to transfer Bombay Island to the Company in return for a loan of £50,000 at 6 per cent. The agreement having been ratified on March 27, 1668, by letters patent the East India Company became "true and absolute owners by the payment of £10 rent annually of the Port and Island" of Bombay, "with all the rights, profits, and territories thereof, in as full manner as the King himself possesseth them, by virtue of the treaty with the King of Portugal, by which the island was ceded to His Majesty." The Company was also granted the right to garrison the island, appoint and dismiss governors, make laws, and exercise martial law. With Bombay the Company acquired all the revenues, rents, customs, castles, forts, buildings, franchises, and privileges heretofore owned by the Crown.

The unexpected news of the transfer was received at Bombay when the *Constantinople Merchant* came into port. In her mails Governor Gary received "advise from Suratt that His Majesty had made a deed of guift of this island *cum pertinentiis*." Two days later, on September 23, 1668, the island and its fort, garrison, and revenues passed into the hands of the East India Company.

This act placed the Island under the direct jurisdiction of Sir George Oxenden at Surat, who was represented by a commission, headed by Captain Henry Young, with the title deputy governor of Bombay. His brief career terminated dramatically, however, when the young official was ordered to England to stand trial for the murder of the wife of James Adams.

Young's successor in India was Gerald Aungier, who was appointed on July 14, 1669, to succeed Oxenden, who had died the previous year, as deputy governor of Bombay and president of Surat. Although not yet thirty, Aungier was already recognized as one of

the able young men of India. He had considerable knowledge of India affairs, having come out in 1662 with Marlborough, been a free trader, and served on the council at Surat.

Bombay needed the stern hand of a man like Aungier, whose puritanical tastes revolted at the drunkenness, duelling, gambling, and prostitution that flourished on the Island. These he attempted to eradicate, directing his efforts especially against the Bombay punchhouses where the popular drink of brandy, lime-juice, and rose water was consumed in large quantities. To counteract these evils, he encouraged colonists to bring out their wives and families from England and found homes.

The Bombay of Aungier's day has been graphically described by the English surgeon, John Fryer, who was sent out to India in 1672 by the East India Company at a salary of 50 shillings a month. A lengthy letter of Fryer's dated February, 1674, portrays the Bombay of this period. "The most conspicuous edifice on the Island," he writes, "is the old Portuguese fort, or castle. This lies on the south-eastern side of the Island and is equipped with four brass cannon and a hundred guns." The castle gardens proved to be the most delightful in India, but were "intended rather for wanton Dalliance, Love's Artillery, than to make resistance against an invading foe."

Along the waterfront, overlooking the fine harbor capable of holding a thousand English vessels, rose the Company's warehouses, tiled, plastered, and provided with windows made of oyster shells, a few substantial dwellings, and the low, palm-thatched huts of the natives. The population consisted largely of Jesuits, Hindus, Moslems, and Parsees, who carried on a flourishing trade in pepper, saltpeter, raw silks, and diamonds. Some slaves were also sent out from Bombay to the planters on St. Helena.

At the end of the town was a "buzzar" where cows and buffalo roamed, and a Portuguese church, with fruit orchards adjoining. Beyond lay the great plantations of the free planters, and some isolated Portuguese colonies.

North of Bombay was Mazagon, a small village of native fishermen called "Cooly Christians." On the northwest corner, facing the Portuguese colony on Salsette Island, stood Mahim, with its custom-

house and guardhouse. Directly south of Bombay lay Colaba, known as Old Woman's Island, a pleasure-resort for Islanders where the Company had laid out a park, gardens, and small zoo.

Aungier made his home in the castle, where he lived surrounded by what comfort and luxury the age afforded. At the fort were surgeons, chaplains, and a flock of minor officials. Aungier's meals were sumptuous feasts, each course being ushered in by trumpeters, and served to the accompaniment of soft music. When he traveled abroad, he rode in a coach drawn by oxen and accompanied by a retinue of servants; or in a palanquin over which was held a great "sombbrero," or umbrella of state.

To a man of Aungier's austere tastes, affairs of state were of far greater importance than the trivialities of daily life, and upon his removal from Surat to Bombay in 1672, he began at once to attempt to solve the problems that confronted him. He saw at once the dangers to be faced: danger from Maratha, Malabar, and Dutch pirates; the hostility of the neighboring Portuguese colonists at Salsette and Bassein; and the treachery of the Maratha chief, Sivaji, who controlled the food supply on the mainland upon which Bombay's life depended.

His first act was to consolidate the local residents of Bombay and to make friends of his Indian subjects by protecting all castes in their religious observances. With a shrewd understanding of the India social system, he also set aside special quarters for the Hindu capitalists, around whom the prosperity of Bombay revolved. Religious freedom having been thus granted to all classes, there began that great influx of Parsee and Armenian merchants that, in less than a decade, increased the local population from 10 to 60,000 inhabitants. Later an attempt was made to establish manufacturing, weavers and spinners being urged to settle at the port.

After the wheels of industry had begun to hum, Aungier began his second major activity: to make Bombay a safe place to live in, "two monsoons being the span of a man's life." While the natives and half-caste Portuguese seemed to thrive on the Bombay climate, one out of every five Europeans succumbed to the ravages of flux, dropsy, scurvy, gout, and malignant fevers. When epidemics of what

was known as "Chinese death"—apparently cholera—gripped the Island, it was a veritable charnel house. Yet much of the ill-health of those days was undoubtedly due to the intemperance of the city dwellers and their fondness for excessively rich food and drink.

Aungier's third act was administrative reform. In 1675, three large courts of justice were established, a tribunal to decide petty cases was organized, an adequate police force was appointed, and prisons and jails were erected. At the same time the militia was re-organized, and, by 1677, six hundred planters were enrolled in the Company's reserves.

The urgent need for such reforms had been obvious to Aungier after an incipient mutiny, over irregularities in the soldiers' pay arising out of debased coinage, had broken out in 1674 on the Island. Unfortunately the work of this active and far-sighted administrator was cut short by his death in 1677. He was buried at Surat, in a magnificent mausoleum in the English cemetery.

For the next five years Aungier's work, so magnificently begun, was destined to fall into the hands of a weak successor. From 1677 to 1682, Deputy Governor Rolt guided the destinies of the young colonists. Rolt found in and about Bombay a medley of antagonistic races. He found the Siddis, in charge of Aurangzeb's naval forces, darting in and out of Bombay harbor in their skirmishes with Sivaji on the mainland. To keep on a pleasant, if not a friendly, footing with these bandits and their Mogul allies and yet not offend Sivaji on whose friendship their livelihood depended, required astute and constant diplomacy. Free traders were also settling on the island as planters, merchants, and even as officials.

Another difficult situation arose two years after Rolt was appointed governor when the East India Company ordered drastic economies of every kind. For a decade or more the Bombay factory, from the standpoint of dividends, had been a failure. Repairs to the fort, salaries to the factors and garrison, and general upkeep all proved a heavy drain on the London treasury. A check of the treasurer's books revealed that at least £300,000 had been spent on the Bombay venture. A radical change of policy seemed imperative, if Bombay was to become self-supporting.

Financial retrenchment, however, was received with considerable ill-favor by the Bombay group, whose interests lay, not with the London office, but with their own immediate well-being. Conditions that Aungier's genius had been able to surmount were far beyond the scope of Rolt.

Upon receipt of the Company's orders, work on the fort was stopped, the allowance of powder was cut in half, salaries of officials and factors were lowered, and the council was ordered to put the factory on a dividend-paying basis. In the reorganization that followed, two prominent members who were destined to play an important part in the Island's history—John Child, who had been made deputy governor, and Richard Keigwin—were removed from office.

John Child, who had served for a time as deputy governor of Bombay, was one of the most unpopular men in India. Notwithstanding, in December, 1681, he was recalled to Surat and made president of the western factories. One of the factors writes of him, "He was the maddest President that ever was in Surat"; and his harsh, domineering, and petty ways made enemies on all sides. His successor at Bombay, John Pettit, was equally unpopular. Pettit's career was cut short by serious charges of dishonesty and malpractice brought against him by the council at Surat, charges that resulted in his recall to England.

Keigwin, to the contrary, was beloved by the residents of Bombay. His early military record was a clean one; he had aided the Company in taking St. Helena, for which he had received a gratuity of £100 for his services; he had received a permit to become a free planter on Bombay Island; and he had had charge of a regiment of cavalry. Keigwin was not a man to accept injustice meekly; he left Bombay for London to lay his complaints before the East India Company. A year later he was back again, having been reappointed captain of the local garrison.

Meanwhile, Charles Ward had been appointed by the council at Surat to act as deputy governor at Bombay. The regime of Ward was one of the most troubled periods in the annals of Bombay. Personally Ward proved tactless, high-tempered, and irritable with

the men placed under his charge. A natural ill-temper was further aggravated by the dangerous situation developing in and around Bombay, which the Maratha leader, Sambaji, threatened to invade, if the Siddi, the mogul's allies, were allowed to land again on the island. To bring home to Bombayans the full implication of his threat, Sambaji shut off their food supply from the coast for a time. Thus the helpless and wretched Islanders were forced to stand by and watch their weak settlement foundering in the maelstrom of the Mogul-Maratha clash.

This was the crisis faced by Keigwin upon his return from England. The moment was singularly inopportune for the petty economies that Sir Josia Child, back in London, ordered Ward to impose on Bombay, and the colonists, already disheartened over the native wars, now began to complain openly. Soon rumors directed against the Company began to circulate with greater freedom. "The Company," it was said, "did not care if Bombay was as far under as above water." "Ward," others observed, "had left God, and run and sacrificed to the Devill for money."

Conditions that had been tense since the execution by Aungier of the leader of an incipient mutiny in 1674 came to a head toward the end of December, 1683, in a sudden outburst of hostility toward the East India Company. The climax was reached on December 27 of that year when, after the soldiers had entered the fort for prayers, the gates were locked, and one of the officers arose and addressed the assembled company. "Fellow-soldiers," he said, "our commissions have been taken from us by the Company, for petitioning to them for what is our due. The deputy governor, Ward, would have sold the Island and us to Sambaji for 40,000 pagodas, and left us helpless. We have resolved not to suffer these abuses any longer, but to revolt to His Majesty." Amid cheers from the soldiers, Richard Keigwin was elected governor of the Island.

The following day Keigwin issued his "Proclamation for the Liberty, Felicity, and Tranquillity of the Inhabitants and In-dwellers of Bombay," in which he stressed the "intolerable extor-tions, oppressions, and unjust impositions that hath been for these five years passed most rigorously exacted and continually more and

more increased by the East India Company." So unanimous had been the support of this rebellion on the Island, that the entire population signed an oath of allegiance to the new governor. The only opposition offered was by the officers of the East India Company's ship *Returne*, lying at anchor, who "protested publicly" against Keigwin's conduct.

One important reform made by the Keigwin government was the removal of the London Company's monopoly, trade being declared free and open to all His Majesty's subjects. Another act, which made him immediately popular, was to restore the former schedule of pay to men and officers. Long a popular resident of the Island, Keigwin was warmly received in his new role of governor, the general opinion being that if the Island had not been seized by the former captain, it would have been captured by the Siddis or Marathas.

Word of the seizure of Bombay in the king's name was carried to London by one of the Interlopers' vessels, and in August, 1684, Keigwin's proclamation and personal letter to the king reached Charles. The same ship also carried a letter from Keigwin addressed to the East India Company, outlining local grievances, the malpractices of the Company, and the misconduct of John Child and Charles Ward. The East India Company, upon receipt of this letter, was aghast at the unexpected turn of events in the Far East.

Fortunately for the Company, Charles II had no intention of becoming involved with petty problems in India. H. M. S. *Phoenix* was dispatched at once to Bombay with orders to bring back without fail the ringleaders of the revolt to stand trial. Although a reward of a thousand rupees was offered for the capture of Keigwin in person, the leader surrendered without resistance upon the arrival of the *Phoenix* in November; the garrison finally submitted upon condition that they should be given "full and ample pardon with his and their respective Lives, Estates, Immunities and Priveldges for all and every act."

On November 19, 1684, Sir Thomas Grantham assumed official charge of Bombay, appointing Charles Zinzan as deputy governor. Keigwin's arch-enemy, John Child, remained in the governor's chair,

which he retained until 1690. In the meanwhile "Keigwin that notorious naughty Rascall," as John Child wrote his London office, "is on board of *Charles the 2nd*, as Impudent as hell glorying in his Rougery, being secured under Sir Thomases protection, with whom he designes for England. We cannot see but hee will get out of our hands, but Indeed its ten thousand pittys he should escape the Halter, being the verry false Rascall without whome the Revolt on Bombay would not have bine." Norwithstanding, Keigwin was ultimately pardoned, and given command of a royal frigate. He died gallantly defending his king at the battle of St. Christophe.

Sivaji and the Clash for Control of the West Coast

THE FOUNDING OF BOMBAY with its fortifications, militia, officials, planters, and colonists was the first major attempt of the East India Company to establish a trading fort on the west coast of India. This important commercial venture coincided, unfortunately, with a period of unrest at home and in India, marked by political upheavals of the utmost gravity. Faced with conditions beyond its control, the East India Company during those years drifted helplessly with the tide. In England the Company now became the target for unscrupulous politicians and courtiers, whose one aim was to serve their own interests. Out in India, in the same half-century, the Company was attacked, accused of malpractice, and prevented from trading by Hindus, Moguls, Siddis, and Marathas.

Of the many obstacles to the Company's progress at this period, undoubtedly the greatest was the clash between the leaders Sivaji and Aurangzeb whose militaristic ambitions precipitated one of the greatest wars in the history of India. As long as this lasted, the East India Company could do little more than preserve the few posts it had already established and watch its trade vanish in the wake of war. The age, indeed, was a critical one for the East India Company; Hindu and Mogul forces were battling for leadership and control in the south; and the meteoric rise of the Maratha leader, Sivaji, was creating a new menace to the Company that was destined to endure for at least two centuries.

Beyond Bombay, the triangular area of southern India is protected on its western front by what are known as the Ghats—a

coastal range of sheer stark crags, crevices, and peaks that bar the way into central India. The coastal Ghats have been described as "a great sea-wall, against which an ancient ocean hurls its remorseless waves." Between the Ghats and the west coast lies a narrow strip of fertile land, so heavily watered and so lush, with its groves of mangoes, palms, and other tropical growth, that it is called one of the garden spots of western India.

East of these forbidding Ghats rises a plateau land, arid, hilly, and devoid of rainfall, which, to early travelers, was known as a near relative of hell. Over the Ghats, and across this dreary stretch, ran the trails leading to the rich capitals of the central Deccan, trading centers rich in cloth, metal, and spices, which, for centuries, had been the Mecca of merchants from Persia, Arabia, Turkey, Abyssinia, and the Far East.

These Ghats, including the west side of the Deccan, were once known as Maha-rashtra, and were the home of a sturdy race who had taken refuge in these mountain retreats when forced out of this land in the fourteenth century. Old epics describe this country as a land of dense forests, mountains, and deserts, inhabited by demons, aborigines, and ferocious wild beasts. In the middle ages these barbaric frontiers were broken down by the onslaught of northern races who brought into the Deccan religion art and culture.

In the years just before Bombay passed into the hands of the East India Company, the Deccan, on whose rich inland trade Madras, Bombay, and Surat relied, was ruled by Aurangzeb, who had been appointed viceroy of that land by his father, Shah Jehan.

Aurangzeb, who was born in 1619, was the sixth child of the Mogul ruler, Shah Jehan, and his wife, Mumtaz Mahal. One of the dynamic figures in India history, this powerful ruler began his military career early in life, having, by 1656, invaded and conquered the rich southern provinces of Hyderabad and Golconda. His next important act was the capture of his own father, Shah Jehan, and the imperial treasure at Agra two years later.

Having cleared the way to the throne by these ruthless methods, Aurangzeb was made mogul in 1658 at one of the most elaborate coronations ever held at Delhi. The singularly appropriate title he

adopted upon this occasion was Alamgir—Grasper of the Universe. With the crown of Delhi safely on his head, his father in irons, and his ambitious brothers in safe-keeping, Aurangzeb began a career of war and conquest of Napoleonic energy, strategy, and cunning.

Contemporary writers describe this vigorous man, who was to direct the destinies of India for some five decades, as a pale, thin-faced individual, with piercing black eyes. A religious fanatic and a champion of orthodox Mohammedanism, Aurangzeb lived as simply as a hermit. He was extremely abstemious in food and drink, passing his leisure time in religious fasts and meditation.

One phase of this religious fanaticism was his persecution, during his governorship of the Deccan, of his Hindu subjects, a persecution which after 1650 rose to such heights that many great Hindu temples were razed at his orders, and mosques built on their sites. He also levied special taxes on Hindus, but not on Mohammedans.

By these measures Aurangzeb aroused the animosity not only of the Hindus in his territory, but of many leading Mohammedans in the south. After his coronation at Delhi, the mogul continued his unjust acts, especially in the territory of Bijapur and Golconda, where the relatively pacific Hindu element soon began to recognize the need for a strong leader to stem the rising power of Mohammedanism throughout the south.

Such a leader was found in Sivaji, a devout Hindu and a member of the Maratha class. This military genius, the second son of Shabiji Bhonsla, a captain in the Maratha army, and Jiya Bai, was born, probably in 1627, in the hill-fort of Shivner, near Junnar, about 24 miles from Poona. Deserted by his father in his infancy, the youth was brought up by his mother, his uncle, and the Hindu priests. So uneducated in the formal meaning of the word that he was unable to write, nevertheless Sivaji managed to acquire an extraordinary knowledge of Hindu epics and military lore, and so profound a knowledge of the Hindu faith that it became the force that dominated his life.

Sivaji's boyhood was spent roaming over the hills and forts near Poona with friendly chieftains. In his youth Sivaji served in the

army of the king of Visiapore, and from the start fortune seemed to play directly into his hands. The illness of the king of Bijapur, followed by the weak rule of Queen Bari Sahiba, gave him the chance to bring under his sway one section of the Poona district. Encouraged by this success, Sivaji in 1648 crossed the arid Western Ghats and entered and secured a foothold in Konkan. This was followed by more conquests in Maratha territory in the south and west, campaigns in which the young Hindu acquired both land and treasure. By 1656 he had invaded Bijapur and the southwest corner of Mogul Deccan. For a time Sivaji allied himself with Aurangzeb, who, after supporting him in his rise to fame, awoke to discover that his former ally had become his most dangerous rival. So meteoric was his success that, by 1660, he had risen to leadership in the Deccan and acquired many of the mogul's great fortresses.

Those who knew Sivaji personally describe him as a curious mixture of military leader and saint, a man whose career was spectacular both for its barbarity and sanctity. In appearance this Hindu bandit-saint was a small man who, when placed on scales weighed with pure gold, balanced at 112 pounds. He is described as extremely restless, with an alert, piercing, and distrustful eye. His enemies called him secretive, subtle, cruel, and treacherous, yet a skilled horseman, swordsman, marksman, and an indefatigable leader. Sivaji's friends, however, were legion, and upon his ability to attract loyal followers was based one of the secrets of his success as a leader. A sound judge of men, his army was a model of efficiency.

Of such caliber was the Sivaji whose genius welded the Marathas into one great nation, who rallied to the support of Hinduism, and who challenged and checked the Moguls' advance, headed by the heretofore invincible Aurangzeb, into southern India. The conflict in which he was destined to engage was far more basic than the clash of two rival leaders; it was the pitting of northern Mogul culture, with its wealth of art, architecture, and literature, against the milder, more effeminate Hinduism of the South, a religion united for centuries by what is known in India as *bhatki*, a simple spiritual bond based on devotion to home, soil, and country, that had flowered and grown strong among the Marathas of Sivaji's land.

Into this Hindu-Mogul web of Indian politics the English forts in India were inevitably drawn. The most vulnerable English factory, and the first to become involved, was Courten's former trading post at Rajapur, halfway between Bombay and Goa in the kingdom of Bijapur. Located on an inlet not far from the coast, Rajapur was the gateway into the rich cities of central Deccan, and the center of a thriving Arabia-India commerce.

At Rajapur, in 1660, were stationed several English factors in charge of Henry Revington, who had been sent out to purchase saltpeter, pepper, calicoes, and cottons for the East India Company. This trade had been ruined when rumors circulated that Sivaji had invaded Bijapur and was near Rajapur.

Panic-stricken over the approach of Sivaji, the native governor of Rajapur, Rastam-i-Zaman, persuaded one of Revington's India brokers to lend him funds with which to escape. The native complied with the governor's request; but, to relieve himself of financial entanglements, signed the English Company's name to the note. The transaction having been completed, the governor left town hastily, taking with him his newly acquired funds. The India broker then explained his dilemma to Revington, who sent the English ship, *Diamond*, to capture the fugitive, and force the return of the East India Company's cash.

As the Englishmen were returning to Rajapur with their captive, they were met by a band of Sivaji's soldiers who demanded the immediate surrender of the governor. The English, notwithstanding, let Rastam-i-Zaman escape, an act that so incensed Sivaji that he captured not only the guilty India brokers, but the English agents as well, who were placed in jail. Unable to enlist the sympathy or support of the council at Surat, who merely replied to their appeals, "How you came in prison you know very well. 'Twas not for defending the Company's goods," they languished in captivity for three long years. The action of the Council at Surat seems singularly inhuman and short-sighted, for by the time the Englishmen were released, their trade had collapsed, leading to the abandonment two decades later of the factory at Rajapur.

Trivial as the affair at Rajapur undoubtedly was, yet it revealed

the extent to which Sivaji had become a menace to isolated English factories along the west coast. The full force of his military strength was soon turned on Surat, "gateway to the holy places of Arabia" and one of the mogul's richest cities. By this time Sivaji had become a veteran robber-bandit. His recruits, joining on a "no plunder no pay" basis, looted for a livelihood. Forts and cities were too easily captured to be the goal of the restless Hindu; his desire now was to amass hoards of gold, silver, jewels, and treasure.

With this end in view Sivaji approached Surat, pride of his sworn enemy, the great mogul. Surat was a highly desirable prize; one of the five walled cities of the west coast, its shops, bazaars, and houses spread over 4 square miles. Among its 200,000 or more inhabitants were not only Asiatics of various heritages and faith, but also many Europeans, grouped into small colonies. These included a flourishing Capuchin monastery, a large, well-ordered Dutch factory, a French settlement, and the substantial stone edifice, with its imposing upper and lower galleries, that housed the English merchants.

At the time of Sivaji's raid, the English factory, headquarters of the East India Company on the west coast, had from twenty-five to fifty residents. In charge of the fort was Sir George Oxenden, who had been sent out in March, 1662, to be "President and Cheife Director of all affaires in Surratt and all our other factories in the north parts of India from Zeilon to the Redd Sea." Sir George had been knighted before leaving England and given what was considered in those days a generous salary of £300 and gratuities to the value of £200. His task in the East was to revive trade along the Malabar Coast, at Surat, St. George, and Bantam, and above all to check the wave of private trade and Interloping that was affecting the profits of the East India Company.

At Surat, President Oxenden enjoyed all the appurtenances of high rank. He lived elaborately, was accompanied by a retinue of retainers upon all occasions, and traveled throughout the city in a coach of state drawn by magnificent milk-white oxen.

Early in January, 1664, two years after Sir George's arrival on the coast, word reached Surat that Sivaji's army had appeared at Bassein, near Bombay, and was marching north. On the sixth the

bandit-leader, accompanied by 4,000 men mounted on swift horses, forced his way through the main gate and opened fire on the castle in which the cowardly native ruler and his cringing associates had taken refuge. Within a short time Sivaji was in control of Surat. For four days, from the sixth to the tenth, a reign of terror ensued, as the Marathas sacked, burned, and looted the city.

Accounts of the destruction vary considerably; but at least two-thirds of the houses were reduced to ashes. The mansion of Baharji Borah, one of the plutocrats of Surat, was among homes entered and looted; it yielded "an incredible amount of money," as well as pearls, rubies, emeralds, and diamonds. The Maratha method used to find out where gold and jewels were hidden was to threaten mutilation if the information was withheld. So great was the fear of Sivaji's torturers that little resistance was offered.

Fortunately for the East India Company, the English factors were not intimidated by Sivaji's approach. As his army appeared before the walls of the city, Oxenden and his men made preparations to defend their factory. Every available sailor was sent up from the English ships anchored off Swally, brass guns were mounted on the factory roof, and provisions, powder, and water adequate for one hundred and fifty Englishmen and sixty native assistants were stored in the compound. Men and officers were then assigned certain points to defend on the factory roof and in a temple near-by.

Before Sivaji arrived, Oxenden decided on a bold move. On the morning of the sixth, after warning the Maratha that he was ready for him and would defend his factory to the end, he led his men through the streets of Surat. Oxenden's courage was rewarded; the Hindu leader publicly assured him that his attack on Surat was directed solely against Aurangzeb's subjects, and not the foreign colony.

One Englishman, Anthony Smith, was captured by Marathas en route to Surat in retaliation for the loss of three men and a horse at the hands of the English. Until released, Smith was forced to watch Sivaji's methods of torture, and see the hands and heads of Mogul prisoners cut off when they incurred the bandit's wrath.

The raid by Sivaji continued unchecked until, on the fourth day,

word reached the burning city that the mogul's army was being rushed to its relief. As the news spread, Sivaji and his men vanished, galloping south with their loot.

The courage and bravery of the English factors in thus protecting the East India Company's property won the gratitude of the London directors as well as the admiration and esteem of all Surat. By the former they were awarded gratuities ranging from small sums to £60 and a gold medal for distinguished services.

The sack of Surat forced Aurangzeb to adopt drastic measures against his rival, and the intensive campaign of guerrilla warfare begun in 1665 against Sivaji by the mogul was almost immediately successful. The wily Hindu was now forced to sue for peace, relinquish part of his new domains, and become Aurangzeb's vassal. The proud spirit of Sivaji, though temporarily humbled, was undefeated. At Agra, where he had gone ostensibly to pay homage to the Mogul court, he kept the palace in an uproar, disturbing the officials, and even fainting when minor requests were refused. Annoyed by his captive's childish tantrums, the mogul locked him up. In some mysterious manner, however, the little Hindu eluded his captors and escaped from the palace in a basket.

Reaching the Deccan, Sivaji found the political situation favorable to his interests. The local officials of the great mogul had quarreled, and war seemed imminent. Furthermore, the chaotic condition of Mogul politics now made it possible for Sivaji to acquire control of the Malabar Coast from Damaun to Goa. His next victory occurred in 1667 when he swept across southern India with an army of 60,000 men and stormed Gingi, a famous fort 82 miles beyond Madras. A brief peace with the mogul in 1668 gave Sivaji time to reorganize his army, strengthen his forts, and prepare for fresh conquests.

With an enlarged army, estimated as high as 150,000 men, on October 3, 1670, Sivaji and his followers again invaded Surat, recently rewalled at Aurangzeb's orders. For the second time the *English, led by Streynsham Master and sixty seamen from Swally*, rallied to defend their property, which Sivaji declared he would burn to the ground.

Sivaji's raid again paralyzed trade at Surat. This did not revive until fear of more attacks subsided and the Banyan merchants returned to their shops. In the meanwhile the Surat market continued to be weak and the East India Company's warehouses were glutted with European commodities. Ivory, tin, coral, and cochineal could be sold only at low prices, all arteries of inland trade were blocked, and many of the most prosperous weaving centers in the interior were abandoned.

Sivaji had profited by the devastation he had brought to western India. His kingdom was now one of the greatest in all India, a kingdom befitting a great ruler. The crest of his meteoric career was reached in June, 1674, when his official coronation took place, an event that was celebrated by elaborate rites lasting several weeks. His coronation chair was a great throne of solid gold, above which hung two colossal fish heads, two horses' tails attached to lances, and a pair of great scales, emblems of his prestige and power, all of pure gold.

The ceremony took place at Raygad, or Kairi, a fort built on the top of a rugged mountain precipice described as "the most completely impregnable place in the universe." Three English delegates, Henry Oxenden and two factors, went up from Bombay for the festivities and to present the Hindu ruler with a gift of diamonds as well as to procure redress for indignities suffered by the English at Rajapur. At the same time they secured an official permit to establish factories and trade at all ports within Sivaji's domains by paying an import tax of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

After the coronation ceremonies at Raygad, Sivaji began another series of campaigns that culminated once more in victory. By 1678 the Hindu leader had brought under his control eighty-five great fortresses, including a large number of almost impregnable strongholds in the Ghats, Carnatic, and southern end of the Deccan. With them he also acquired immense revenue. His success had been won, however, by bleeding the south; the Carnatic had been literally "peeled to the bones," and trade, owing to his ruthless system of plunder, had disappeared.

Notwithstanding, Sivaji had become the lodestar of the Hindu

world. What he contributed to Hinduism was manifold. His genius had created, for the first time, a united Hindu state, over which he ruled with an iron hand. Above all, he had challenged the Mogul rule, removing from the south the Mohammedanism by which it was being annihilated.

The death of the omnipotent Hindu occurred in 1680, at the age of fifty-three, when he died suddenly of a fever brought on by exposure and fatigue. With him died the vision which had built a new Hindu world.

Sivaji was succeeded by his son, Shambhu, or Shambuji, a weak and ineffectual ruler. Dissipated, capricious, cruel, and selfish, he was unable to withstand the armies Aurangzeb sent against him in the Deccan. As a result, less than a year after Sivaji's death, Aurangzeb in a series of sweeping victories won back the south, and in 1689 captured Shambhu. Thus, by 1690, India had reverted to Mogul control and Aurangzeb was acknowledged emperor of India from Cape Comorin to Kabul.

The long years of warfare between Moguls and Hindus in the Deccan had placed the English factors in India in a perilous position. Before Aurangzeb's rise to power in Delhi, the East India Company had depended for protection, trade concessions, and friendly co-operation on the Mogul throne which, under Akbar and Shah Jehan, had become the most powerful court in India. But during Aurangzeb's regime Mogul support was frequently withdrawn, for the Delhi ruler, confronted by the loss of many of his finest Mocha-Surat vessels, held the English factors responsible for damages caused by Interlopers, Malabars, and pirates, and attempted, by his unfriendly attitude, to force them to pay these excessive damages.

Finally, in the fall of 1688, the English colony at Bombay, whose patience had been strained to the breaking-point, decided to take action. On October 9, the governor of the East India Company at Bombay, Sir John Child, appeared suddenly with a small fleet off Swally. The significance of his arrival was soon obvious. Sending a list of grievances suffered by the English to the native governor of Surat, Sir John demanded compensation for past injuries, a

guarantee that their factors would not be subjected to insults in the future, and a new trading charter.

The Mogul governor retaliated late in December by placing the local English factors in prison (where they remained, incidentally, for six months), stationing a guard over their factory, and sending troops to capture Child down at Swally. Eluding his pursuers, Sir John sailed down the coast and captured en route forty Mogul ships carrying grain to Surat. In the brief campaign, known as Child's War, that followed in 1690, Bombay was besieged by the mogul's forces. Unable to cope with their adversaries, the English were soon forced to negotiate for peace. Among demands made upon the English when the war ended was that Sir John Child should be handed over to the Moguls for punishment. The sudden death of Sir John, while negotiations were pending, relieved the English from the necessity of complying with this awkward stipulation.

After the war, conditions continued to be chaotic around Bombay and in the south. The final campaigns of Aurangzeb, the dissolution of Sivaji's kingdom, and Child's ill-timed maneuvers at Swally, paved the way once more for unrest. To add to the confusion, wholesale murder, robbery, and violence now broke out in the south. The bandit Kanoji, posing as the mogul's ally, roamed throughout the Deccan, plundering towns, looting caravans, capturing hill forts, and precipitating a new age of outlawry and terror. So extensive were his raids that by 1690 roads leading into the Deccan were considered unsafe for travel.

Another menace appeared along the coast when the Siddis, a group of Abyssinian traders, joined Aurangzeb's forces. For a decade or more their constant skirmishes with local Marathas kept the coast in and around Bombay in turmoil. Campaigns carried on in the Deccan by Aurangzeb, who, despite his advanced age, led his armies in person for twenty years before his death in 1707, also added their toll of unrest.

By the first decade of the eighteenth century the deaths of Sivaji, Shambhu, and the venerable Aurangzeb finally eased the tension on the west coast. From the chaotic conditions of the last half-

century, however, the English had acquired knowledge of vital importance. They had learned, first of all, that trade must be protected by soldiers, guns, and armed fleets. They had learned that for self-protection their India forts, factories, and settlements must be enlarged and strengthened. They had learned that settlements and colonists must be numerous; that Hugli, the cotton mart; Rajapur, Tellicherry, Anjengo, and Karwar, with their supplies of fine pepper; Bombay, Surat, and Swally must be supplemented by new forts. They had learned that where rival competitive groups would undoubtedly fail, a strong, amalgamated company might succeed. And for the first time they saw, as the shrewd governor of the East India Company, Sir Josia Child, had pointed out to the directors in England, that the East India Company would have to lay the foundations for a "large, well-grounded sure English dominion in India for all time to come."

The Gala Age of Piracy

IN ADDITION TO the Hindu-Mohammedan clash for supremacy in India, the raids of Sivaji, and the enmity of the Siddis, the East India Company's trade was also disrupted by the loss of many of its prize East Indiamen. Of the many perils faced throughout the seventeenth century by the richly laden ships that followed Anglo-Indian trade routes, the gravest, the most dreaded, and the most difficult to check was undoubtedly that of piracy. So serious, in fact, did this evil become, and so heavy were the losses suffered by the East India Company at this period, that for more than one hundred years their Oriental commerce was threatened literally with annihilation at the hands of pirates. Yet piratical raids which now for the first time seriously menaced the trade of the East India Company had been the scourge for centuries of lands bordering the Mediterranean.

A pirate, according to the classic definition of the term, is one who leaves an orderly home, community, and country life to sail the high seas and live by violence, robbery, and murder. Grouped under the general heading of pirates belong, as well, certain adventurers whose nefarious careers are disguised under the milder names of buccaneers, vikings, Barbary pirates, privateers, and freebooters, men who, although differing from the true pirate in method and technique, resemble him in fundamentals.

Piracy is one of the world's oldest professions. To the ancient Greek the pirate was a classic figure, and if not a popular, at least a conspicuous member of contemporary circles. Longus, the noted Greek sophist and romanticist, was the first to introduce the pirate into literature; in *Daphnis and Chloe* he tells how the heroine was carried down the river by a pirate.

Piratical activities in those days were more often confined to attacking ships crossing the customary trade routes, the victors retiring with their loot to some designated rendezvous. Among favorite haunts were the outlying Greek islands, the lands bordering the Indian Ocean, the Red Sea, and Madagascar where, in secluded retreats, pirates met to divide spoils, quarrel, carouse, plan new ventures, or establish robber colonies.

From time to time vigorous attempts were made by sober-minded communities to check piracy. The Romans even passed what was known as the *Lex Gabinia*, a law indicating the importance of the pirate menace, that granted Pompey full power to act against Mediterranean pirates.

After ships had charted new courses into undiscovered corners of the far seas, piracy assumed for the first time international significance; and into the New World, especially in the wake of Spain's conquest in the Americas, there soon appeared swift pirate ships, manned by gold-greedy crews, who visualized, in these remote lands, rich opportunities to loot and rob unchecked. What merchandise was captured by pirate ships operating in lands far beyond the arm of the law, was readily converted into gold by being sold surreptitiously in the colonies.

Goods handled in this manner undersold the legitimate market; tea, silk, spices, and treasure taken from the English East India-men, Spanish galleons, or Portuguese frigates, circulated freely throughout the Americas in open defiance of Spain's stringent colonial laws that forbade her American subjects to trade with foreigners.

Piratical "trade" also extended to the British colonies in America, especially Massachusetts and New York, which were headquarters for illicit trading. The technique of successful buccaneering was simple in the extreme. Having procured a ship by the dark and questionable methods followed by the brotherhood, the sea-rovers sailed rapidly off, usually toward the East, and even to India and China. Then, after looting coast towns, small junks, and large vessels, they retraced their course to America, where they brazenly sold their loot under the protection of the colonial governors. After a

few weeks of riotous living in port, the buccaneer hoisted his black flag and steered east, searching for new "prizes."

Long before the East India Company received its Elizabethan charter, corsairs were already plying their nefarious trade in the Mediterranean. Sallying forth from pirate strongholds along the Barbary Coast, they assaulted shipping with such marked success that between 1569 and 1616, 450 British ships had been captured and their crews sold into slavery. Intoxicated with their easy victories, the Barbary Coast pirates finally became so bold that at the time of the great English queen they even boasted of the day when they would attack English shipping in its home ports. Nervous Londoners, aware that one bold corsair had even sailed his pirate ship far up the Thames, lived in constant fear of piratical attacks, and English frigates leaving port were advised to be on the lookout for pirates, especially in the English Channel and off the Bay of Biscay.

Southern Spain and Malaga were considered especially dangerous, being the rendezvous of a great fleet of forty ships operated by the notorious corsairs of the Barbary Coast who, by the time the East Indiamen were sailing out to India, had learned how to build and navigate great square-rigged sailing ships, which now replaced the clumsy, man-propelled galleys. Barbary pirates had also learned invaluable lessons in navigation from Simon de Danier, a noted Dutch pirate who lived with "a price on his head" in an Algerian palace with all the elegance of an aristocratic gentleman of leisure.

The wave of piracy that reached its peak in the seventeenth century brought to the fore a group of men of every race, rank, and creed without parallel in the annals of pirate history. Many of these sea-bandits operated single-handed; some swore allegiance to popular leaders and, under the leadership of men like the buccaneer Henry Morgan, formed miniature armies and stormed great cities. Other pirates, such as Thomas Cavendish and Sir Francis Drake, were gentlemen freebooters with their own private codes of integrity, patriotism, and honor. Still another type took pride in their Utopian beliefs. Notable for his idealism was a famous pirate, Wis-

son, who founded a republic for fellow sea-rovers based on liberty, equality, and fraternity.

Ambitious pirates even founded their own kingdoms over which they ruled supreme. Many entertaining tales are told about the Oriental potentate-pirate, James Plantain, whose fortified castle at Madagascar, guarded by a large army of colored soldiers, housed a seraglio of women captives decked in the finest of ill-gotten silks and diamonds, whom he called, in memory of his former life in England, by such names as Sue, Peg, Kate, and Moll.

Many besides Plantain established colonies on the east coast of Africa, where good water was available, as well as on the piratical paradise of Madagascar. In these regions food was abundant, especially such luxuries as oxen, goats, sheep, fish, poultry, dates, bananas, rice, and honey. Madagascar, furthermore, had long been a port of call for English vessels that put in to take on fresh supplies, especially lemons and oranges, to ward off scurvy. Thus the pirates could lie in wait conveniently near their favorite haunts for the rich prizes that constantly passed their doors.

In the quaint records and diaries of these sea-rovers, many of whom took a curious pride in their literary accomplishments, there appears an amazing panorama of pirate life, of days and weeks alternating between arduous labor and idleness, between riotous debauchery and near-starvation, of gambling, fighting, looting, and treachery. Few survived the constant gamble with death, or saved from the fruits of their profession enough for a comfortable old age.

The gala days of international piracy coincided with an increase in trade with the Far East, with the age when Portuguese, Dutch, and English merchantmen began carrying cargoes of immense value between Europe and the Orient. Other victims of maritime piracy at this time were the great Mohammedan ships, owned by the rulers of India, that carried rich and devout Moslems to the annual pilgrimage at Mecca. The desirability of these Mecca "prizes," which often carried cargoes of great value, was well known to the corsair world.

In addition to pirates, the East India Company's shipping suffered heavily from the acts of Interlopers, for whose crimes they were

frequently penalized, and which led to a serious break with their Indian protector, the great mogul. The situation behind the untimely activity of the Interlopers was complex and deep-seated, being rooted in the age-old antipathy of infidels and Christians. In the Near East one phase of this racial hate was explained by the constant raids made against Christians by Barbary corsairs. Capture by these infidels was synonymous with slavery; and among victims were hundreds of Englishmen who had died in captivity. Regarded as a flagrant menace to Christendom, any infidel ships were considered legitimate prey by English vessels. Ships were even licensed in these days with the specific mission of attacking infidels; and by the royal commission granted on February 25, 1635, to Captains Cobb and Ayres "to range and discover the coast of America and operate all the wourld over," the captains were "allowed capture of anie goods of all infidells or anie other prince, potentate, or state not in league or amitie with us beyond the lyne equinoctiall."

Sailing under this royal permit with the colors of the English navy flying from their topmasts, the Interlopers, the *Roebuck* and the *Samaritan*, sailed down the Thames, bound for the Far East. By September, several Arabian and Portuguese ships in the Red Sea had fallen "prize" to the *Roebuck*. Elated by this success, the Interlopers next attacked a junk from Surat owned, unfortunately, by the great mogul, carrying it off to the Abyssinian coast.

News traveled slowly in those days; six months elapsed before word of this outrage, committed by English seamen, reached Surat. The city was stunned by the act of men believed to be friends, not enemies. Unable to distinguish between licensed English traders and Interlopers, the full brunt of the mogul's wrath fell on the innocent heads of the East India Company's factors at Surat. William Methwold, president of the English fort, received word to appear before the local governor representing the great mogul. What explanations the English official had to offer were disregarded, and the factors were ordered to pay full indemnity for the Interlopers' piracies. Upon refusal, the president and three clerks were put into prison where they remained until they paid 107,000 rupees into the mogul's treasury. Insult was added to injury when Pero da

Silva, Portuguese viceroy of Goa, placed full responsibility for an attack on a Portuguese junk by Captain Ayres, directly on the shoulders of Methwold.

Letters complaining bitterly of the situation in India soon began to pour into England from Surat. The Company was warned, "If measures be not taken to prevent such expeditions, you will have the seas full of pirates and your trade to India is utterly lost and our lives exposed to pledges in the hands of the Moors. We are loath to lie in irons for any man's faults but our owne." Meanwhile, the East India Company's factors did what they could to remedy the evil, and every captain leaving port was instructed to find, capture, and send to Surat "these abhorred pirates."

The scurvy-ridden crew of the *Roebuck*, however, had already put in at Mohilla, where fifty of them, weak from undernourishment, "perished. What few, ill and desperate, survived, abandoned their pirate stronghold to seek assistance. The first ship sighted proved to be the East Indiaman *Swan*, Captain John Proud. Hailing her, Ayres sailed alongside, begging food and medicines. To the pirate's dismay, Proud ignored the request and ordered him to surrender. Ayres's retort was a volley of piratical oaths. Then, warning Proud and his men that he would "resist any of us that should goe to demand either monies, goods, or anything else there," and, if attacked, "would make some of our gutts fly about our heeles," he withdrew.

Another menace even more dangerous to the factors at Surat than the English Interloper was the Malabar pirate. These veteran corsairs who in times past had molested only Indian, Moorish, and Arabian shipping, began after 1630 to annoy the English. A prize much coveted by the greedy Malabars was the small India junk engaged in carrying English goods from local ports to Surat. Unlike the heavily armed and well-manned East Indiamen, these coastal vessels were easily captured, being incapable of defense. When operating alone, the treacherous Malabars, to bag the prize, often masqueraded as friends, then attacked without warning. But if, as was usually the case, they traveled in large numbers, they boldly closed in on their victims. After boarding the ship, the Malabars bound the crew, removed whatever chests of money and merchan-

dise they could carry, set fire to the junk, and then carried the Englishmen to their own vessels where they were held for ransom. So cruel were these Malabar pirates that English captains often burned their ships rather than fall into their clutches.

Walter Clark, an English factor writing from Surat, tells how he barely escaped with his life when seventeen Malabar junks closed in on the East Indiaman *Mary*, lashing their boats to the vessel. After a hand-to-hand fight lasting eight hours the English crew, wounded and exhausted, yet determined "to contrive a way to send them all to their great adorer, Belzebub," set fire to the *Mary*. The twenty-three Englishmen aboard her, nineteen of whom were severely wounded, then jumped overboard. Too exhausted to swim, they were captured by the pirates, taken ashore, and held for 2,200 rials of eight. The ransom was ultimately paid by President Methwold at Surat, and the men released.

This experience with the *Mary* convinced Methwold, as he wrote the London office, that the Company would be wiser to abandon its local port-to-port shipping "rather than bury the nation's honor in their ruins," unless more men, guns, and ammunition were sent out at once from England. As he wrote, the *Hope* was seized by Malabars, and freight worth some 200,000 rupees stolen.

Despite Methwold's recommendations and warnings, by 1640 the local Surat trade was in a precarious position and the India-Mocha trade at a standstill. Contemporary letters reveal that "The Malabars do so infest the Indian seas that many are fearfull to adventure forth," and some drastic plan would have to be devised "to contrive to reduce or restrain their bravings." To combat pirates, ships sent out from England shortly after this time were heavily armed and equipped to resist capture. Captains also carried instructions authorizing them, if pirates were sighted, to break open two treasure chests and divide the contents among the crews to encourage them to fight to the finish.

In their zeal to check piracy, English captains at times captured peaceful Malabar traders carrying English passes for safe-conduct—ill-timed acts that called for heavy cash compensations on the part of the Company. Even in cases where such captures were made by

the Interlopers, the East India Company rather than the culprit was held responsible for all damages.

One of the major grievances of the English agents in India was the fact that although pirates flying French, Dutch, Portuguese, and even Swedish flags infested the seas from the Mediterranean as far west as China, yet, irrespective of the colors under which they sailed, full responsibility for their piratical acts was laid at the door of the East India Company. By far the most troublesome of these foreign pirates were a group of French freebooters known as "men of Dieppe." Of them the English factors wrote bitterly, "It is neither equity nor conscience that the English should be held responsible for losses by them."

Surat shipping suffered heavily from the activities of the infamous men of Dieppe. In the early forties the Coromandel Coast and the Red Sea were seldom free from these bands, who, led by Giles Régimant, "man of warr of Dieppe," sallied forth from their haunts at Mauritius and Madagascar to loot vessels. Every captain leaving England dreaded falling into their "cruell rapinous clutches"; and although several French pirates were caught and brought for punishment to England, yet this was ineffectual in preventing "the French pyrates theftuous practises."

Other dangerous pirates of this era were the daring Spaniard, Victorino Papachino, who was captured in October, 1658, while raiding three East India vessels, and the Dutchman, Hubert Hugo, whose reputation was so black that "feares of Hubert Hugo's being in the Gulfe" often kept ships from leaving port. The dreaded Hubert Hugo is a typical pirate of the age, a man ready at all times "to sell his soul for enough gold to fill his boot." Brought up in a decorous and conventional manner, he served for a time as head of the Dutch factory at Ahmadabad, a post from which he resigned in 1654.

Abandoning commerce for piracy, Hugo left Amsterdam early in 1661 in the *Black Eagle*, with one hundred men and thirty-six guns. At Havre he was joined by several Frenchmen who carried a freebooters' commission issued by the Duc de Vendome. Hugo's first prizes were caught the following spring in the Red Sea, where

he consistently defied all attempts at capture. So bold were his raids that the helpless governor of Mocha was obliged to watch the corsair burn several junks and large boats in the harbor before he entered and looted the city.

Among Hugo's victims at Mocha were the English factors from whom several thousand pounds were taken. When the Dutchman finally left the Gulf that June he carried away, according to conservative estimates, four or five tons of gold. Hugo's raids in the Red Sea during the next few years proved so disastrous that in 1663 the young English factory at Mocha was dismantled, locked, and barred.

Throughout the last quarter of the seventeenth century, piracy grew progressively worse. More and more outlaws joined the bands patrolling the four seas. Interlopers, privateers, and sober sea captains all succumbed to the urge for loot. Attempts to suppress them seemed futile, and by 1700 they had instigated a flourishing trade of their own.

In the American colonies illegal traffic flourished almost unchecked, and from the East India Company came repeated complaints that privateers and pirates were being protected by the local governors. A privateer, a vessel, technically speaking, commissioned in times of war to harass enemy shipping, had, however, definite legal standing and carried "letters of protection" from colonial governors.

But pirates were often similarly "protected" and in 1695 Governor Fletcher of New York was openly charged by Peter de la Noy with harboring "a parcel of pirates called Red Sea Men who get a great booty of Arabian gold." Of the soundness of his complaint there is little doubt, for a group of sixty pirates, each carrying £1,500 of Arabian gold, had recently reached the American colonies.

Piracy was further encouraged by the passage in 1696 by Parliament of the Navigation Act which excluded all nations except England from trading with British colonies. This made the prices of colonial commodities soar with the result that thrifty New Englanders availed themselves of the opportunity to purchase illicitly goods brought in from the Orient from the privateer-bandits.

The East India Company now found itself in a curious dilemma, being unable to check in the New England colonies the bargain sale of goods often removed by force from their own East India vessels. Much of the brazenness of pirates at this period was undoubtedly due to the laxness of law enforcement. Pirates knew that they were in slight danger even if captured, that the East India Company had no right to try prisoners, and that there were no admiralty courts either in New England or India.

Two English pirates of the period, Avery and Kidd, defied the law both in New England and India with the utmost daring. Popular interest in their nefarious deeds even reached such heights that Daniel Defoe used John Avery as the hero for his *Piracies of Captain Singleton*, and one of the most successful plays ever staged at the Royal Theatre in Drury Lane, London, was a drama, also based on his life, by Charles Johnson, called *The Successful Pyrate*.

Captain John Avery, or Every, alias Bridgman and Long Ben, began his career as a privateer; then, persuading his crew to mutiny, turned pirate. Heading with his band of outlaws for the Red Sea, after looting several Mocha-Surat ships near the Gulf, in 1695 he besieged the English fort at Surat. His next act was to capture a ship carrying to the annual pilgrimage at Mecca the daughter of one of the richest moguls in India, and her retinue. Upon learning of this outrage, the mogul threatened to retaliate by destroying the settlement of the East India Company at Surat.

Carrying the captive Mogul princess to his retreat in Madagascar, Avery married her and established a pseudo-Oriental court, over which he ruled in a heavily guarded castle as luxuriously as a great monarch. From this royal haunt Avery's squadron of swift ships sailed out to lie in wait for "prizes" with such success that each member of his crew often received as his share of the plunder, as many as forty large diamonds, which were later sold to Dutch merchants. Avery's acts caused such heavy losses in maritime circles that England seriously considered offering him a legal "act of grace," if he would withdraw from Madagascar and settle quietly in England.

Finally, in 1696, definite action was taken by the East India Company, who petitioned the English government for protection from Avery, posting a reward of £500 for his capture. Their appeal caused the English government to issue orders for all colonial governors to locate and seize Avery, a request that appears to have been disregarded in America, for the brazen bandit appeared openly in Boston, sold his ship, and returned to Ireland with a vast fortune where, ironically enough, he died a pauper.

The second pirate-hero of this period was William, or Robert, Kidd.

My name was Robert Kidd,
God's law I did forbid,
And so wickedly I did, when I sailed.

Kidd, the theme of many a contemporary ballad, tale, and song, was the son of a Calvinist minister. His early manhood was spent as a sober citizen of New York, where he lived quietly with his wife and son. Because of his excellent reputation, when the governor of Massachusetts received orders, in 1695, to suppress piracy along the New England coast, he selected Kidd to head the pirate-hunting expedition on a "no capture, no pay" basis.

In 1696, Kidd, accompanied by 155 men, left New York in the *Adventure Galley* on this mission. Not long after leaving port Kidd quarreled with a gunner whom, in a rage, he killed. To escape the consequences of his crime, Kidd turned pirate and sailed East. Near Surat he overhauled and captured a rich India ship of 500 tons burden, the *Quedah Merchant*. Having divided the spoils, which gave each man a tidy fortune, Kidd returned to New York and ultimately to Great Britain, where he was captured.

Meanwhile, the English out in India faced the antagonism of the mogul, the Portuguese, and the Dutch for Kidd's attack on the *Quedah Merchant*. The mogul demanded full payment for his losses; an entry from Bombay, dated August 20, 1698, showed that the Portuguese citizens of Goa had certificated officially "that Kidd's

ship belonged to the East India Company, and robbed by virtue of the King's commission," and the Dutch, whose fear of pirates was so great that they deserted their forts along the west coast, spread the rumor that the English factors in India were in league with the pirates.

While Kidd was languishing in prison, an act was passed for the more effectual suppression of piracy. Thus, after 1699, a court of seven persons, one of whom must be an official, could be formed to try pirates at any place upon sea or land, in any of His Majesty's islands, plantations, colonies, forts, or factories.

Laws notwithstanding, the first quarter of the eighteenth century witnessed a renewed outburst of piracy. By 1721, piratical attacks on British shipping had so demoralized British commerce that the English government sent a squadron under Captain Mathews to locate corsair hideouts. After following an elusive trail to their haunts at Madagascar and Mauritius, all the English captain found to reward his search was a message written with a piece of charcoal on a tombstone saying the pirates, tired of waiting for him to appear, had left for parts unknown.

The wave of piracy which, for more than a century, had been unchecked on the high seas was further increased in the eighteenth century by another type of adventurer who was equally dangerous to the interests of the Company. This was the East Indiaman pirate who sailed from port as an honest officer, mutinied, seized the Company's ship, and began a career of crime.

Conspicuous among corsairs of this type was Captain Ben Johnson, originally a petty officer on the Company's ship *Asia*, who had been flogged and demoted for stealing wine and brandy. Upon reaching the Red Sea in 1750, he deserted and entered the service of the sultan of Ormuz, by whom he was placed in command of fourteen pirate vessels. The young pirate admiral, as well as two hundred Englishmen who had joined his crew, decided to become devout Brahmins, part of their pirate's pact being an agreement that each man, while in port, was to be allowed one dancing girl from the Brahmin temples.

The Company also lost another able officer when James Gillam

of the *Mocha* led a mutiny on his ship, murdered the commander in his sleep, and turned pirate.

Need for more adequate coast defense now became one of the basic problems of the Company in western India. This was recognized by President Gerald Aungier upon his arrival in India, and as early as 1660 he began to fortify Bombay by lining the shores with Martello towers, completing the main fort and installing sixty guns to fight the Malabars. Later, under the regime of Charles Boone, who reached Bombay in 1715, these were materially strengthened.

Malabar piracy reached its peak long after Aungier's day in the coastal attacks by the pirates Kanojee Angria and Angora, both of whom cherished grudges against the East India Company. Angora, sultan of Timor, became a pirate after difficulties with the English, whom he refused to allow to fortify his island. His revenge took the form of an attack on Bombay, where he blew up the fort, and sailed off with the Company's livestock. Several ships were also taken prizes, among them the *Hartford*, the *Edward*, whose crew he poisoned, and the *St. George*, whose captain was killed and crew forced to become pirates. After these reprisals he escaped to Ceylon.

The rule of the Angria family in western India lasted for more than 150 years. The tactics of Angora's brother, Kanojee Angria, whose activities extended from 1689 to 1728, were marked by the same extreme cruelty. Among his atrocious acts was the capture of the *Elphinston*, 80 miles off Bombay, when forty-seven Englishmen were set afloat in an open boat without food or water.

Kanojee, head of the powerful Maratha family of India, and admiral of the navy, controlled the entire west coast for 300 miles south of Bombay, where he created a series of forts, among them the great strongholds of Severndroog and Vijaydroog where his loot was cached. He even flaunted his power in the face of the English by seizing and fortifying an island within sight of Bombay, from which he was able to attack any ships attempting to enter or leave the harbor.

The death, in 1729, of Kanojee, who was shot by Commander Jones of the *Asia*, resulted in a fresh outburst of piracy on the part of his five sons, who fought bitterly for leadership. After two years

of bickering, fighting, and wrangling, this fell into the hands of the Angria known as Monajee I, or Tulaji, who wielded a power heretofore unknown on the coast, and who again paralyzed commerce. In fact, the menace of Tulaji extended not only to the English, but to all Marathas who had not been forced under his sway.

The pirate stronghold of this leader, the "Golden Fortress," was Severndroog, to which the Bombay council finally decided to send a large group of English and Mohammedan soldiers to exterminate Tulaji, dead or alive.

In 1755, land forces under the leadership of Robert Clive, and a small fleet of fifty craft in command of William James, descended on the pirate rendezvous at Severndroog. After a bitter fight Tulaji capitulated, and gold, silver, and jewels valued at £130,000 fell prize to the English and Marathas. This victory was followed, in 1756, by the capture of Vijayadroog, a capture that exterminated coastal piracy.

The century or more of lawlessness and piracy that cost the Company incalculable losses in men, property, trade, and equipment was not without certain benefits. The English now recognized for the first time the need to patrol the seas. Both England and the Company realized that drastic laws were needed to protect the lives of Englishmen, and to bring pirates to justice both in India and in the English colonies in America.

CHAPTER XIV

St. Helena, Africa, and the Near East

DESPITE THE PIRATE MENACE, the Company continued to send its East Indiamen to remote corners of the globe in search of trade, ports-of-call, and lands where factories and colonies could be established. Many became permanent stations; others lasted only a brief period. In this search, the magnitude and extent of the Company's operations is disclosed.

It was on May 21, 1502, that the Portuguese navigator, João de Nova, sailing over the blue waters of the Atlantic home-bound to Portugal from India, observed far off in the distance a mountainous island. Upon landing, he discovered a small uninhabited land, in all not over 50 square miles, dotted with pleasant valleys, which he called St. Helena. So salubrious was the air and so healthful the climate that St. Helena, lying conveniently near Portugal, was soon colonized by de Nova's countrymen, who brought with them livestock, fruit trees, and vegetables, and erected a chapel and a few temporary dwellings on the island.

Although the Portuguese had adopted a policy of the utmost secrecy regarding their outlying possessions, in 1588 St. Helena was visited by the English navigator Thomas Cavendish; in 1591 by Captain Kendall; and, two years later, by Captain Lancaster. So convenient a stopping point between Europe and the Far East did St. Helena prove to be that English ships often put in there for supplies, or to allow their crews ill with flux or scurvy to recuperate.

To this delightful rendezvous also came Dutch ships and, between 1645 and 1651, a group of sturdy Hollanders attempted to colonize the island. Although relatively few in number, yet their presence made the English fear the advent of a Dutch colony on the pleasant retreat of St. Helena.

In 1658 the East India Company was sufficiently alarmed over the possibility of a permanent Dutch colony on the island to send out a band of English colonists, under the leadership of John Dutton, who was commissioned by the Company to take possession of St. Helena and "with drum and trumpet to proclaim the same." Reaching the island in May, 1659, Dutton erected a small fort on the site of what is now Jamestown, naming the settlement York Fort, in honor of James II, Duke of York.

To secure a permanent and stable population the Company now decided to establish a larger colony on the island to which it had acquired legal rights by the King Charles charter. This document, issued on April 3, 1661, empowered the Company "to erect castles, fortifications, and forts on the island of St. Helena, and to furnish them with stores and to engage such number of men as they should think fit to serve as garrisons."

The colony flourished. Soon quantities of sheep, cattle, fruits, and vegetables were raised on the island, and St. Helena became a regular port of call for ships sailing between England and India.

Later another attempt to lure colonists to St. Helena was made by what was known as the Committee for Plantations, a group appointed by the Company, by whom bills, placards, and notices were distributed through the city. This literature described the joys of pioneer life on the island, and urged men and women to go out to St. Helena as free planters, free land and passage being supplied by the Company.

Notwithstanding its widely publicized allurements, so few colonists were secured for St. Helena that in 1666 the Company published a notice that it would receive open bids "for supplying African negroes, or blacks," at £16 for service on the plantation of St. Helena, who, after seven years' good service, would be eligible to become "free planters."

By 1670, however, the St. Helena colony had grown to fair size. That year a new leader, Captain Richard Cony, was sent out to govern the colony, but so "many large complaints" were made about his misconduct that he was recalled and Captain Anthony Beale appointed his successor.

Beale, in charge of seventy-five soldiers, sailed in June, 1672, aboard the *Humphry and Elizabeth* for the island where, in view of anticipated Dutch attacks on Fort York, he was to prepare for its defense. In December, a few months after his arrival, the small group of defenders at Fort York saw a Dutch fleet appear. On the twentieth, 400 Dutchmen landed on the island. Unable, with a garrison of 170 men, to withstand this superior force, the English spiked their guns and escaped on the *Humphry and Elizabeth*.

Four months later, a strong English fleet consisting of five ships and two fire boats in command of Captain Munden recaptured the island for the Company. Munden was not only knighted for his services, but also received a gift of £2,500 sterling.

After the war with Holland was over, the Company petitioned the King to regrant the island of St. Helena to them in perpetuity. This was done under letters patent dated December 16, 1673, which gave: "to the East India Company of the island called St. Helena with all the rights, privileges, profits, and advantages thereof, reserving to the King and his successors the faith and allegiance of his subjects and inhabitants there, and also a grant of all the artillery, arms, ordnance, ammunition, provisions, ships, vessels, goods, and merchandizes whatsoever in or belonging to said island; with power to make laws for the government of the inhabitants and to send from England, for the supply of said island and the forts and garrisons there, all kind of clothing, provision, ammunition, etc., free of duty; and with power to constitute governors thereof, administer oaths, erect courts of judicature, and appoint the officers and ministers thereof."

On St. Helena, at the time this charter was granted, there were at least one thousand settlers, who were organized into a kind of colonial militia, each owner of 20 acres being required to supply a soldier for garrison duty. Officers and seamen were induced to reside on the island, join the militia, and participate in the island's defense. A code of regulations issued in 1680 offered 20 acres and a cow to each married settler, and 10 acres to a bachelor.

Yet with all its self-sufficiency, its right to make its own laws,

appoint its own officers, and conduct its own government, St. Helena was far from a model colony. Perhaps one of the gravest abuses found on the island was the treatment of the "blacks," who were mercilessly tortured for minor offenses, and occasionally burned at the stake for sorcery.

Finally, in 1684, the situation at St. Helena reached a crisis. Incensed at the widespread flogging of the blacks and the oppression of white citizens, sixty soldiers and planters marched to the castle to demand the release of a comrade who had been imprisoned for speaking in disloyal terms about His Majesty. The governor's reply to their request was to order his men to fire on the mob, seventeen of whom were either killed or wounded. Others, found guilty of mutiny, were given death sentences.

Yet mutiny at St. Helena had not been checked. Soon there occurred on the island a fresh outbreak which the Company decided to handle in a drastic manner by sending Sir John Weybourne out from England. Upon his arrival at St. Helena in November, 1685, he was found to have in his possession a royal commission by which nineteen participants were condemned to death. Of this number only five paid the penalty; the balance succeeded in securing redress.

Effectual as this move was in stamping out mutiny, yet it aroused so much direct and indirect protest that many of the inhabitants of St. Helena refused to pay taxes, or acknowledge the Company's authority. In 1685 relatives of those who had been executed sent a complaint to Parliament which voted that the Company had acted not only in an illegal, but also in a dictatorial manner.

The aftermath of the rebellion was the inauguration of a new plan whereby the king's flag was to be raised to give the island the appearance of a royal settlement. Soon a brisk trade developed between Jamestown and London, quantities of woolen goods, iron, and supplies for the colonies being shipped out to St. Helena in the Company's ships. The harbor was crowded at all times with incoming and outgoing vessels, which took on supplies, put in for repairs, or brought workmen and colonists to the island. After 1800, colonists on St. Helena began to prosper. Many outlying plantations

were established, and in the valleys plentiful crops of apples, peaches, guavas, grapes, and figs brought prosperity to the islanders. Since a shortage of labor was a serious problem on St. Helena, after 1810 the Company began to import Chinese workers from their factory at Canton. In these years York Fort, or Jamestown, also felt the effects of prosperity, many large buildings being erected in the city. The island remained in the Company's possession until 1833 when, by a crown act, it was annexed to England.

In addition to St. Helena, another port of call for East Indiamen where tropical fruits, grains, and fresh meats were also procurable, was the town of St. Augustine on the island of St. Lawrence, or Madagascar, which had been named by Diego Diaz in 1500. A few Portuguese and Dutch missionaries and colonists had already settled on this salubrious island when on September 3, 1612, it was first visited by a ship of the East India Company.

The route usually taken by ships was to sail first across the South Atlantic toward Brazil, back to St. Helena, then southeast, keeping well away from the Cape to avoid cross currents. When scurvy or a shortage of supplies made a stop at Madagascar essential on the outbound voyage, ships altered their course for the island; otherwise vessels put in at St. Augustine or Mauritius upon the return voyage to England. East Indiamen going out to the Spiceries touched frequently at Madagascar to rest their crews and take on supplies. A member of Weddell's fleet, describing Madagascar in 1621, mentions the "great stores of fresh vittles, as beefes, sheep, goats, and hennes" and adds, "We took on as much as we could desire and very good and cheape, for the people would take no money but silver chaines and counterfett bludstones."

Notwithstanding its lack of commercial opportunities, the glowing accounts brought home by English ships of the abundant supplies, healthful climate, and remarkable fertility of Madagascar attracted the interest of the English nobility to such a degree that plans were made at court to colonize the island, and establish a trade supplying slaves to Jamaica. Among prominent backers of this project were Endymion Porter and the youthful Prince Rupert, who attempted to enlist the support of the East India Company.

The hopes of these zealous promoters were shattered, however, by the objections raised by Prince Rupert's mother, the queen of Bohemia, who wrote to Sir Thomas Roe of the East India Company asking him to interfere. "As for Rupert's conquest of Madagascar," she said, "it sounds like one of Don Quixote's conquests."

In 1639, two years after Prince Rupert's project, which had threatened to infringe on the East India Company's charter, had been abandoned, another noble, the Earl of Arundel and a group of friends made similar plans to establish a plantation on the island of Madagascar. With a boldness equalled only by that of Prince Rupert's clique, the Earl approached the Company to enlist its support and secure the use of its vessels. Having denied this request, the Company sent a vigorous protest to the king, asking him to prohibit the founding of colonies that might infringe on the rights and commerce of the East India Company. In 1640, as the result of this appeal, a formal guarantee by the crown was made to the Company that all grants for plantations on Mauritius, Madagascar, and other islands would be cancelled.

Despite this crown guarantee, a desire to colonize Madagascar continued to interest Londoners. In 1642 John Bond announced his intention of taking 250 men and 40 women to colonize St. Augustine; in 1643 Walter Hammond wrote his *Madagascar, the Richest and Most Fruitful Island in the World*, recommending its colonization; and in March, 1645, a group of 140 planters, backed by the Assada Merchants and led by John Smart, actually reached the island.

The Assada colony, based on the Dutch system of colonial expansion, was destined, at least in the minds of its sponsors, to become the center of trade for Asia, Africa, and America. But the Assada Merchants, unable to withstand the hardships of pioneering in what they had been led to believe was a paradise, abandoned their new home within a year and returned to England. The island then became a pirate rendezvous.

In these early days ships of the Company also touched occasionally at Guinea. Some knowledge of remote Africa seems to have been current even in Elizabethan England, for a charter was granted

at that time by the queen for the foundation of an African, or Guinea, Company to trade in gold, ivory, and elephants' teeth. Although not licensed to trade in Africa, by private agreement with this group East Indiamen occasionally touched at ports along the Guinea coast. Trade with Guinea ended in 1663 when the Guinea Company received an enlarged charter from Charles II, excluding the East India Company from their territory.

A century later the economic and political value of acquiring a foothold in the northeast corner of Africa was seriously considered by directors of the East India Company, to whose attention it had been drawn by Warren Hastings. Egypt, at this time, had a two-fold interest: it produced within its own boundaries a surplus of coffee, gold dust, ivory, senna, and drugs available for the English market, and it was a distributing point as well for merchandise for Greece, Italy, France, and the Mediterranean islands. Definite interest in the Egyptian market dates from 1775 when an Englishman, George Baldwin, offered his services to the Company if it would open up an office in Cairo. His offer was accepted, and on June 10, 1775, Baldwin with a cargo of valuable merchandise supplied by the Company reached his destination, where he secured permits from the pasha and bey to trade throughout Egypt. Although a promising trade was soon established between Cairo and Bengal through his efforts, yet commercial activities between the two countries ceased abruptly three years later when war was declared between France and England. Then came the Napoleonic era in Europe, with its disastrous effects on Egypt, which terminated for all time the Company's desire to expand in northern Africa.

With Turkey, on the northern side of the Mediterranean Sea, the East India Company had only sporadic commercial dealings. Licensed since the Elizabethan era to the Levant Company which brought Oriental wares overland to England, this Near Eastern country was legally beyond the Company's domains. Thus, what few Turkish activities were carried on by English merchants were brief and relatively unimportant and were closely allied, because of their geographical affinity, with those of Persia.

After 1636, English ships bound for Persia entered the Gulf

occasionally and went up as far as Basra, where trade was carried on with Turkish towns near-by. It was not until 1641 that English factors secured from Ali Basha ground near the customhouse at Basra for a factory, "free lycense for our disembarqueing," and the promise of trade in pearls, Arabian horses, and dates. But they were forbidden to build dwellings or warehouses.

Unfortunately the methods adopted by Turkish merchants who were "verry subject to recant theire bargaine," were not conducive to amicable relations with the English factors. Furthermore, Ali Basha failed to live up to promises he had made. For these reasons, in 1660 the court of directors ordered the factor living at Basra "to bring away your estates and servants thence," and to abandon the Turkish trade permanently.

Another point visited at an early date by fleets of the East India Company was the Arabian port of Aden, for a time a part of Turkey, where Sir Henry Middleton in command of two ships dropped anchor in 1610. Unfamiliar with the harbor, Sir Henry unfortunately grounded his vessels, and was forced to go ashore for aid. Here he was attacked by the natives, his merchandise seized, and several of his men slain. Others, including the general, after being captured and held prisoner for six months, finally escaped to their ship. Safely aboard the *Darling*, Sir Henry lost no time in avenging himself on his oppressors by blockading the port, and capturing an Arabian vessel, an action that brought the local governor to terms. Compensation was made ultimately to the general for his losses; he was presented with a gift of "400 loaves of bread, one ox, and two baskets of plantains"; and was asked to "make merry with his friends."

At the time of Middleton's visit to Aden, the trade possibilities of Mocha were also carefully appraised. Here the English, the visitor concluded, could market to advantage iron, lead, tin, and cloth, and take on cargoes of spices brought here from the Far East, as well as coral, myrrh, and coffee.

Although the Surat factors did not favor trading with Arabia, in 1618 the *Anne*, Captain Shillings, carrying three Englishmen, reached Mocha, to establish trade with Arabia. The British merchants were successful in obtaining a permit from the local governor, author-

izing them to trade by paying an export and import tax of 3 per cent. Mocha, as the Dutch who were already trading there were aware, was an important point for commerce. Here, annually in April or early May, a vast caravan, numbering at times as many as one thousand camels, came in from Cairo, bringing Indian commodities such as "pepper, cloves, and calico," all in demand as cargoes for the Surat-Mocha ships that plied regularly between Swally, Mocha, Bussorah, and Gombroon, carrying produce to reship in the East Indiamen home-bound from India to England.

Trading at Mocha proved to be full of unforeseen complications. The town was hot and unlivable; the natives treacherous and crafty. What proved to be the most valuable commodity taken on at Mocha was coffee, which was found only at that port. The earliest interest shown by the East India Company in coffee appears to have occurred in the year 1627, when in reply to an inquiry regarding "coffa" the directors were informed that "the seedes and the huske, both of which are useful in making the drinke," were found only at Mocha, although the beverage was used in Turkey, Arabia, Persia, and India.

Of the importance of a future trade in coffee at Mocha, William Burt wrote from Ispahan on February 27, 1630, to the Company: "If the ships go to Mokha with a well-chosen cargo, they will do well, especially if the proceeds be invested in Cowa seeds, which finds vente both in Suratt and Persia unto your large advantage."

Arabians had introduced the coffee plant from Abyssinia, where it was indigenous to the province of Kaffa, from which its name is derived, and had grown it successfully in the south. Among early users of coffee were the Mohammedans, who found that its stimulating qualities aided them to keep awake during their long religious services. Mohammedan priests, however, barred its use on the ground that it was an intoxicating beverage, and as such prohibited by the Koran—the law of their prophet Mohammed.

Although never so popular in England as tea, yet after 1650 coffee was served in all London coffeehouses. Yet their Mocha factory proved unprofitable, and in 1660 the Company ordered it to be "wholly deserted," and coffee brought in through Bussorah. The

Mocha factory was reopened in 1655, and coffee, myrrh, and olibanum (frankincense) shipped out for a time until Anthony Smith, the English representative at Mocha, whose experiences, which he calls "extraordinary crosses and afflictions" at the hands of the pirate Hubert Hugo, put an end to the Mocha factory, whose warehouses were closed, barred, and sealed.

In the middle of the eighteenth century, after the pirate menace had abated and Persian control of Arabia was at an end, a new ruler, head of the Ghafari family, a group strongly pro-British, came to the Arabian throne. It was a son of the founder of this new dynasty who signed an anti-French treaty in 1798 with the East India Company to keep the French out of Arabia, an alliance that was continued by his successor. The interests of the Company in Arabia in these decades were largely political and military, being especially directed at the destruction of pirates who remained along the Gulf.

The most important country in the Near East visited in the early days by East Indiamen was undoubtedly Persia, a land with whose wealth the East India Company had long been familiar. English interest in this land dates back to the tenth and twelfth centuries, a time when crusaders returning to Europe from the Near East brought back to northern Europe factual knowledge of lands bordering the Mediterranean, of their trade routes, of their active port-to-port shipping, of their traffic by river, gulf, and inland waters, a traffic that had created vast avenues of flourishing commerce. Over these arteries silks, muslins, spices, wools, and precious stones had been moving, since the pre-Christian era, back and forth in the Near East, building up the vast wealth of Egypt, Arabia, Turkey, and Persia. Near Eastern wealth had become almost proverbial in London; in the popular mind it was linked with that of the Far East. Milton reflects this popular belief when in his *Paradise Lost* he lauds "the wealth of Ormuz and of Inde."

Ormuz, of which Milton writes, was the key to Persia, as Bombay was of "Inde." Situated on the island of Gombroon at the entrance to the Persian Gulf, this fortified city, built by an Arabian conqueror in the eleventh century, was once the capital of an em-

pire extending over Arabia and Persia, and the center of Indo-Persian trade. After a sea route was opened to the East and Portuguese mariners and traders began to explore and settle throughout the Orient, Ormuz, or Hormuz, was conquered in 1507 by the Portuguese captain Alfonso d'Albuquerque.

In 1616, approximately one hundred years later, there appeared at Hampton Court an Englishman known as Sir Robert Sherley, who had been living in Persia and whom Shah Abbas, ruler of Persia, had sent to England as his representative. Sherley's task was to attempt to interest London merchants in buying silk from Persia, and, incidentally, to enlist the aid of Christians against his formidable enemies the Turks. An observant guest at Hampton Court during Sherley's visit was Sir Thomas Roe, later ambassador to India, who listened with keen interest to the envoy's account of Persia. Much to Roe's regret, however, the king failed to share his enthusiasm for Persia, and Sherley, having failed in England, left for Madrid.

The East India Company first became interested in commercial relations with Persia after their factory was opened at Surat and after Sir Thomas Roe had visited the Near East and India. In addition to Roe's accounts, favorable reports about Persian trade had also been received from Richard Steele, a traveler who had gone from Aleppo to Ispahan, a metropolis of 600,000 inhabitants and a flourishing commercial center.

During his travels, Roe had learned that his old acquaintance at Hampton Court, Sherley, accompanied by his wife, a priest, and a large retinue of followers, had recently sailed from Ormuz to Lisbon on a second mission to the court of Madrid to offer a monopoly of the Persian silk trade to Philip III. Sir Thomas now realized that if England hoped to enter the Persian market, definite steps should be taken immediately.

Letters were sent overland to the Company in England urging them to check this move by bringing diplomatic pressure to bear on Shah Abbas through the court of Madrid, to keep the treacherous Portuguese at a safe distance, establish a free port, and open up trade relations with England.

While Sir Thomas was engaged in these negotiations, the English factors at Surat who were openly enthusiastic about trading with Persia had not been idle. In 1616 a small band of factors under Edward Connock including the veteran Persian traveler Richard Steele were sent from India to Persia with a letter requesting "fair and peaceable entertainment of our men, ships, and goods in all such ports as they shall arrive in" and merchandise to procure trade privileges from Shah Abbas. Leaving three factors at the capital, three more Englishmen, with a camel caravan, proceeded to Shah Abbas's camp. These merchants, however, had been preceded by a secretive Spanish friar who had already gone to the shah with "proffers of large sums and with larger lies" to block English attempts to establish commerce with Persia.

After Connock had delivered the king's message, the shah asked what the English wanted. Amity, trade, and commerce, he was told, between the two kings and their subjects. At this point the Spanish friar interrupted, picturing to the shah in livid colors the sins committed by Englishmen and Portuguese wherever they went.

"Padre, padre," the shah protested, "let him split in ten thousand pieces that tells me lies." Then, calling for wine, he said that the English king should be his elder brother, and could trade at Jask, or any other port he chose. A feast of fowl and venison followed, while the shah openly told his lords, much to the chagrin of the Spanish friar, that "the English were a people free from lying and deceit, but that the Portugals had at any time these twenty years told him not one true word."

To cement the newly established friendship, "a very noble letter" for King James was presented to Connock, together with a farman and credit for 3,000 bales of silk. Having established the nucleus of English-Persian trade under these happy auspices, Connock left for Ispahan and Jask, where he hoped to meet the English fleet en route to India.

In a letter dated August 4, 1617, which Connock sent from the Persian camp to the East India Company in London, he describes the results of his mission and adds: "Your honorable body consisteth of many grave, wise, and wealthy members, and doubt-

less men of so great resolution as you will not let slip this fair opportunity . . . for the wealth is great."

Connock also requested the Company to send appropriate gifts by the next fleet for Shah Abbas, who desired above all else four looking glasses, one hundred serviceable guns, one coach "with its furniture and a coachman," armor, pistols, short swords, two mastiffs, "young and fierce," and, above all, "as many little dogs as well of plain as rough haird, as you may please to send. These little curs he hath so often and earnestly asked that, had you heard it, your Honours would surely strive to please him. His women, it seems, do aim at this commodity." In closing, Connock stressed the desirability of shipping out to Persia cloth, tin, quicksilver, and vermilion, to be bartered for silk, a point of prime interest to the Company which hesitated to become involved in so luxurious a commodity as silk, whose purchase might involve the outlay of a large amount of ready cash.

The trade permits, or farmans, procured by Connock, were followed by an Anglo-Persian treaty, dated December, 1621, guaranteeing perpetual friendship between the two countries, and allowing English goods to be exported or imported without paying customs duties.

The advent of English traders in Persia, however, was distinctly distasteful to Portuguese traders, who laid plans to trap them. But by this time the treacherous ways of these Europeans had aroused the antipathy of Shah Abbas, who secretly hoped, in winning the friendship of the English, to find allies to aid him in exterminating these ill-natured rivals who, unfortunately, controlled the Persian port of Ormuz. At the insistence of these traders, and in anticipation of the arrival of English vessels at Jask, King Philip III wrote the viceroy at Goa, urging him to strengthen the fortifications at Ormuz.

Furthermore, in the spring of 1619, five ships were sent out from Lisbon under Ruy Freire de Andrade, to the Persian Gulf, to stop and turn back all vessels operating in these waters without Portuguese passes. In June, 1620, the Portuguese fleet reached Ormuz, where its appearance so irritated Shah Abbas that he swore he

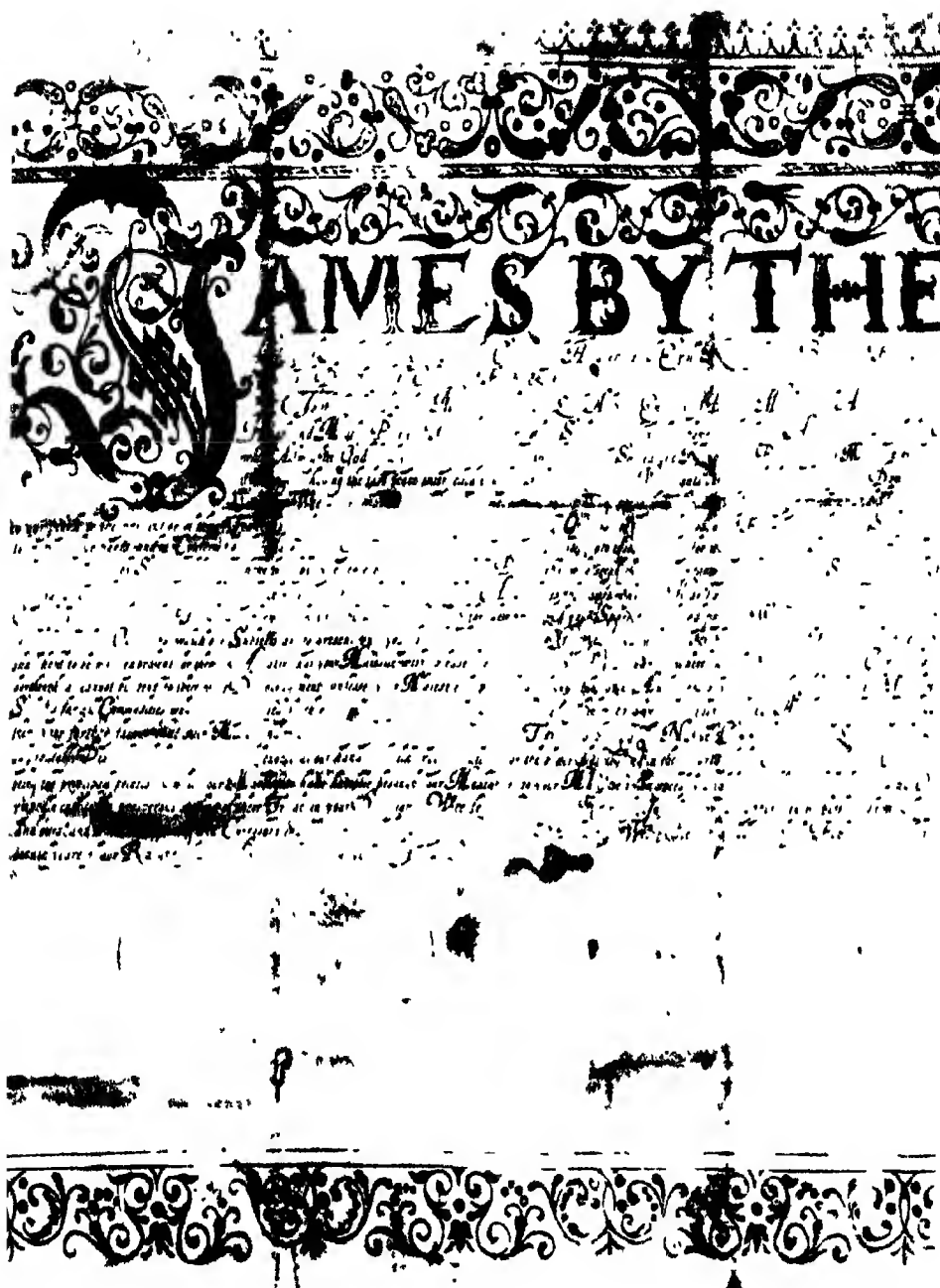
would drive these rascals at all costs out of Ormuz. To indicate his annoyance at the arrival of the fleet, he issued a new farman, granting the sole trade in silks carried by sea to his friends, the English, notwithstanding the fact that the Spanish ambassador had recently reached the shah's court to negotiate for exclusive trade rights in Persia.

Five months after Ruy's fleet had anchored off Ormuz, two English trading vessels reached Jask. Here they found the harbor blocked by Portuguese vessels which, after a brisk fight off Jask Roads in December, 1620, were routed by the English forces. Convinced that peaceful trade was impossible as long as Ormuz remained in the hands of their rivals, the English and Persians joined forces for a combined attack on this island fortress. After a short siege, on April 22, 1622, Ormuz capitulated, Ruy Freire and his officers being sent prisoners to Surat. As a reward for their participation in the attack, the English received a large amount of the plunder, and the grant of a share of the customs of Gombroon.

Back in England, the Company's participation in the spoils of Ormuz aroused the interest and cupidity of the court. The Duke of Buckingham claimed as his prerogative one-tenth of the total loot; and it was only after the Company had presented £2,000 to the Duchess of Buckingham, and an additional £10,000 to the Duke, that the Company's servants were pardoned for participating in the fruits of the assault.

So successful in the next few years did the Persian silk trade prove to be that in 1626 the Company decided "to prosecute the Persian trade." Factors were stationed inland at the great Persian mart of Ispahan, at Gombroon, or Bender Abbasi, a flourishing seaport near Ormuz, and, later, at the Turkish port of Bussorah, or Basra, 55 miles up the Shat-el-Arab River, where superfine silks were procurable. Many separate voyages at this time owed their stock subscriptions to the stimulus afforded by the local silk trade, private traffic in Persian ventures reaching as high as £30,000 in one year.

Persian commerce, so auspiciously begun, had not yet become



Letter dated February 14, 1622, sent by James I to Shah Abbas of Persia.
Original in the India Office



Fath Ali Shah, King of Persia, 1797–1834. From
an original painting in the India Office



Mohammed Ali Khan, Nawab of the Carnatic, 1750-95. From an

firmly established when Shah Abbas, the loyal supporter of English interests, died, leaving a weak successor on the Persian throne. His death, added to a financial stringency in the London money market and discontent in commercial circles over Courten's Association, which was trading in territory held by the East India Company, was a serious handicap to Anglo-Indian commerce. The unfortunate visit to London, in 1636, of the Persian ambassador, into whose garden stones were thrown by London ruffians, and whom the Company neglected to invite to dine with its officers, also widened the breach between England and Persia.

The ambassador's visit to England came at a time when the East India Company's factories in Persia were about to close their doors. Dutch merchants at Ispahan were attempting to squeeze English merchants out of the local market; Shah Abbas's successor was distinctly unfriendly toward English traders; and "the immediate hand of God," who had sent pestilence and famine to India, had placed a heavy damper on British shipping.

By 1640 trade had dwindled to such an extent at Ispahan that the factors abandoned that port for Gombroon and Bussorah. This decrease in Persian trade was enhanced, according to the factors at Ispahan, by vivid tales of political conditions in England. How serious the situation had become appears in a letter written, in 1650, by an Englishman in Persia to the Company's office in London. Commenting on the dearth of trade, he then refers to the "tragically storied of the King's beheading, which would cause the European and the Persian nobles to consider the English as a base, contemptible, unworthy nation, and that he was apprehensive the Persian nobles would, from this circumstance, seek occasion to break the league between the English and the Persians, and deprive them of their moiety of the customs at Gombroon, which had hitherto been collected in the name of the King of England." At this time so little commerce was being carried on with Persia by the London Company that its factories were closed and only one merchant remained to collect the English share of the customs at Gombroon.

After 1690, internal conditions were more peaceful and since

England was anxious to have Caramania wool for her home industries, an attempt was made to revive commerce with Persia. Four years later a group, consisting of a chief, four factors, and four writers, was sent to open houses at Gombroon and Ispahan. Every effort was made at this time to win the king's friendship and procure a new farman. A letter written from Ispahan on August 27, 1699, describing the visit of the king to the English factor, reveals the colorful methods devised by the factors to accomplish their purpose.

"In the great room and hall," he writes, "were laid two thrones for the King; in the garden under the trees were set 60 jars of sweetmeats, and between perfume pots of gold, and around the tank 40 or 50 flasks of wine. Five pieces of ordnance were ordered to be fired. The garden was well put in order. The way to the house upon the carpets was bespread with Aurora broadcloth. Against the throne in the great room, they had placed their presents, and three petitions. The house being put in order, they went to Julpha, leaving charge of it to 13 women. The 24th of July, at seven in the morning, the King with five of his wives, 21 concubines, and several eunuchs came to the house, extremely well satisfied with the grandeur, and variety of preparations made for him, declining at first to sit on any of the spreadings till being informed by the women they were never made use of before, but taken out of bales, he thereupon smilingly took the throne, admiring the sweetmeats, and saying it was a royal feast. After he had taken hubble-bubble and coffee, he viewed the presents wherewith he was well pleased, read the petitions, and walked in the garden, wherewith he was so delighted he said he would come again with his nobles, declaring it was the King of England his brother, yet could have all things so royally disposed in all places." His Majesty, gratified and flattered by this elaborate reception, reciprocated by ordering an adjustment of arrears in customs, the right to export gold and silver, and freedom from certain taxes to his newly won English friends.

Later the English factories at Bussorah and Gombroon were consolidated under one roof at Bushire, and the Persian market

gradually abandoned. Throughout the eighteenth century Persian commerce was of negligible importance to the Company, especially after trade with India assumed such large proportions.

In an effort to protect its silk investments, toward the middle of the eighteenth century the East India Company became embroiled in Persia, as in India, in the internal troubles of the empire, and in 1761 took up arms to assist the Persians against a band of Arab outlaws, headed by Shaik Saliman, who blockaded the Euphrates and tied up traffic bound for Bussorah. Skirmishes with the Arabs continued for several years; during this time constant appeals were made to the English for assistance.

The East India Company's Persian commerce was now at such low ebb that in 1767 the court of directors remarked, "We observe the distress and disgraceful situation of our affairs in the Gulf of Persia, and the little prospect there is of extricating ourselves from the difficulties that have been brought on us by accumulated misfortunes. These, altogether, have made our stake in the gulf of vast importance."

Two years later, on February 23, 1769, the Company, now in profound distress over the situation in Persia, where they had several hundred thousand pounds at stake, presented a memorial to the Right Honorable Lord Viscount Weymouth, one of His Majesty's secretaries of state, requesting him to intercede with the king for naval assistance. "His Majesty," Weymouth replied two and one-half months later, "is graciously pleased to promise you support," and later sent a fleet to Persia to attempt to collect back customs for the Company.

Meanwhile the struggle of three rivals, Karim, Azad, and Mohammed Hasan, for the Persian throne had been slowly prostrating English commerce. The supremacy of Karim Khan, a patron of trade and expansion, had been of some benefit to England, but his death in 1779 brought on a new period of internal anarchy and chaos, with its train of death and waste.

In 1799, Lord Clive sent Captain Malcolm as envoy to Fath Ali Shah, who had been on the throne of Teheran for a year, and

on January 28, 1801, a commercial pact was signed between them which provided for the establishment of factories in Persia, and the cession of certain islands in the Gulf to the East India Company.

A few years later Sir Harford Jones was sent on a political mission from London to Persia; it was followed by Malcolm's second trip to Persia. At this time Persia passed from the status of a commercial land to that of a buffer state whose political significance, in which England, France, and Russia were involved, was paramount, during the Napoleonic crisis in Europe.

Outlying Settlements

IN ITS SEARCH for gems, silks, gold, and spices, the East India Company opened up three major arteries into Asia. These led through the Persian Gulf, the entrance to the Near East; through Surat, the commercial center for central and northern India; and through Bantam, the stepping stone to the Spiceries and China. The first of the three arteries, the Persian Gulf silk trade artery, was soon found to be so unprofitable with constant fluctuations in price and difficulties of making collections that any further major attempts to expand in the Near East were abandoned by the Company. The second trade artery, Surat, which handled cottons and miscellaneous India wares, soon became the financial pillar of the London office. The third, the spice center of Bantam, precipitated an endless chain of difficulties between the English and Dutch East India companies.

The southern route leading to the Spice Islands was the route first used by the Company. Ships bound for the Spiceries set a course that lay east of Ceylon, stopping at Sumatra, with its thriving Oriental metropolis of Achin, Java, Bantam, a port thronged with Chinese junks, Borneo, Celebes, the minor Spice Islands, the Malay Peninsula, Burma, Siam, Cochin China, and the more remote land of Japan. In its search for Far Eastern markets in these countries the Company had to face at all times the open and undisguised hostility of local Dutch and Portuguese merchants who, having already become established in these lands, considered the English mere intruders, poisoned the minds of native rulers against them, and in most instances were ultimately successful in driving the Londoners out of the best markets.

During the seventeenth century the English fought stubbornly for a share in this rich trade, a trade that supplied spices for all

Europe. In the first decades of that century, the "rich and golden island of Sumatra" was the earliest as well as one of the most important countries at which ships of the East India Company touched. The Sumatran ports at which English factors first traded and in some instances established small forts were the native settlements of Achin, Jambi, Indrapore, Padang, Priaman (Tryamong), Sillebar, and Bencoolen, where large cargoes of pepper, as well as minor commodities, were available.

Lancaster's first voyages were made to Achin on the northern part of Sumatra, which continued for many years to remain the leading port for English shipping on the island. From Achin trips were made to minor pepper settlements lying along the east and west coasts of the island, especially to those which Dutch traders were not in the habit of visiting.

One of the first English attempts to found a factory on Sumatra was made in September, 1615, on the east coast at Jambi. An account of this venture comes from the pen of Richard Westby, one of the factors sent to Jambi, on the ship *Attendant*, to negotiate with the local monarch for a factory. Westby's experiences at Jambi afford an illuminating portrait of how Dutch traders tried to drive their English rivals off the island.

After attempting to rent a house in which to display his wares, young Westby visited the king. "He told us," writes Westby, "that the Hollanders had been there a little before, and had plainly told him that if he gave us leave to trade they would no longer tarry in the country; neither would he grant us that house to dwell in, fearing lest we should fight and quarrel, living so near together, perceiving some enmity between us, but willes us to look elsewhere for a house further from them." The king, Westby discovered later, had also been told that "we were a vile people, drunkards, and thieves."

Notwithstanding, the young English lads clung stubbornly to their mission. Finally, by showering presents on the monarch, including a Persian horse, they were allowed to trade in his territory. Jambi as a trading center was second only to Achin in importance; here money and Indian goods sent from Surat could be

exchanged for cargoes of the all-important pepper. "Without pepper," wrote the factors, "we cannot dreame of lodeing for the many ships which you have now in India." Jambi pepper, notwithstanding, was not procured without protestations on the part of local Dutchmen who declared that, by contract with the king of Achin, they held a monopoly of the entire pepper crop of the west coast.

In addition to pepper from Sumatra, and especially from Achin, there was imported at this time saltpeter, rice, buffalo butter, and opium "which produces such a tickling in the blood, such a languishing delight in everything, that it just might be termed a pleasure too great for human nature to support."

Jambi and Achin continued to supply pepper to the London market until 1650, when an English ship visited Padang and Indrapore on the west coast in an attempt to buy pepper. But at Indrapore the English vessel was attacked and seized by two Dutch ships, the pepper removed, and the factors warned that the Dutch had the exclusive right to all pepper at these ports. Complaints sent by the English council at Bantam to Dutch headquarters at Batavia met with the caustic reply "that the English were traitors and had no king, and that he would do them all the injury in his power." The governor had reference to political problems in England, which soon forced the East India Company to begin a policy of drastic retrenchment in the Far East. Not long after, factors and goods were withdrawn from the two ports, and the houses ordered closed.

Under the Cromwell charter of 1657, trade to Sumatra was re-established. Offices at Achin were opened and, in 1664, after costly gifts had been presented, a new treaty of trade was made with the temperamental queen who, no longer favoring her former Dutch patrons, was eager to give "the whole trade of her domains" to the English in return for protection against the Hollanders.

But not even the queen's lack of support could keep the Dutch from absorbing the pepper trade. Dutch ships carried off the cream of the crop; "the Dutches engrossed the whole commerce of Sumatra to themselves"; and, in 1670, the factory at Achin was forced to close its doors once more.

The next move to settle permanent pepper factories on the island of Sumatra was made when the English, expelled from their headquarters at Bantam on the island of Java, moved to Bencoolen on the west coast of Sumatra. Here a factory was opened; after 1690, York Fort, as the port was known, became an important English pepper mart, and so brisk a trade was carried on between this factory, Amoy, and Fort St. George, that the East India Company decided to fortify and enlarge their factory.

In 1691 Negroes were sent from Madagascar to strengthen the garrison at Bencoolen, barracks and negro houses were constructed, guns and ammunition were sent out from England, and the factory and warehouses were enlarged. All pepper for the English market was collected by small ships that cruised up and down the coast, and put in at small pepper ports, especially Sillebar and Indrapore, then brought their cargoes to York Fort to be reshipped in East Indiamen to England.

Bencoolen with its enlarged fort and commodious warehouses was placed in 1696 under the control of Fort St. George, under whose charge it remained until the amalgamation of the London and English companies in 1702, when it was made independent of Madras. The pepper port, nevertheless, had at all times proved a costly and unpopular venture. By 1700 Bencoolen had cost the Company £200,000, and had not returned one-half the initial outlay.

The island of Java, directly below Sumatra, was the center of an even keener rivalry between English and Dutch traders, an animosity that was so extensive as vitally to affect their pepper and spice trade throughout the Far East. On Java the unfriendly spirit between the two rival Companies reached its peak at Bantam, the pepper and spice metropolis of the Orient, and later on the east coast at the Dutch port of Jacatra, or Batavia, both ports where the English had established factories.

At Jacatra the local king of Mataram, in whose land the port was situated, and on whose protection traders were forced to depend, proved treacherous in his dealings with the English, by whom he is described as "being constant in nothing but inconstancy, proud above all former expectations, scornful as not caring for our

friendship." Restive because of the king's fickleness, after the massacre of Amboyna the English factors moved, in November, 1624, from the latter port to Lagundy, a small island north of Bantam, which they renamed King Charles's Island.

Climactically their new rendezvous proved a death trap. Settlers "fell like sheepe infected," ships rotted for lack of sailors, and a year later the English were forced to pocket their pride and ask their Dutch rivals at Bantam to rescue the few emaciated survivors of the original colony.

For the next two years the English colonists lived at Batavia, acknowledged to be a Dutch stronghold, then in 1628 moved to Bantam, which became English headquarters for Java and which two years later was placed under the directorship of Surat. On September 11, 1633, Bantam was made an independent agency, and as such became one of the most important of the East India Company's ports in the Orient.

After the spice and pepper trade began to decline, because of the inroads made by the Dutch, political troubles, and war that affected the Company in Europe, Bantam was in 1651 placed under the control of Fort St. George. Soon after, the English factors abandoned their house at Bantam and moved to a new port on the island of Billiton, between Borneo and Sumatra. Later the Bantam factory was revived once more and, under the Cromwell charter of 1657, made one of the four branches placed under the presidency of Surat.

For the next century and a half, trade between Java and India flourished. In 1705 the English acquired extensive holdings from the king of Mataram, and by 1745 had acquired control over the entire northeast coast. For a brief period, from 1811 to 1818, during Lord Minto's regime, the English occupied and ruled the entire island, under the able governorship of Sir Stamford Raffles. Then civil war broke out, culminating in the great Java war that lasted from 1825 to 1830. An aftermath of this war, backed on one side by Dutch interests, was Dutch control of Java.

Also under the control of the Bantam council was a small English factory that had been established at the native town of Macas-

sar on the southwestern tip of the island of Celebes. Macassar was an important clove center, a place to which Chinese junks frequently brought the Oriental velvets, damasks, and raw silks so valuable for English trade, and where a vast quantity of Coromandel cloth could be sold as well. The importance of Macassar as an Oriental market was known as early as 1614, when George Cokayne and two factors, who had come out with John Jourdain, were put ashore to establish a factory. The inexperienced young factors had to face the intrigues of the indomitable and experienced Dutchmen, and only after many discouraging experiences could even a semblance of trade be maintained on Celebes Island.

The valuable clove trade of Macassar was kept alive by the English factors, primarily by princely gifts given to the local king, into whose grasping hands were delivered pieces of brass ordnance, English greyhounds, telescopes, and large amounts of English gold. Finally, in 1640, the Dutch forced the price of cloves down to a point where, as the factors wrote the London office, "that trade is not worth the following."

For the next three decades the cloves of Macassar were carried to Europe primarily in Dutch bottoms. Although the English, at frequent intervals, attempted to revive an independent traffic in local cloves, yet English-Dutch disturbances on Celebes continued. These reached a climax in 1667 when, after a sharp war between the Dutch and the local ruler, the victorious Hollanders forced the monarch, in a treaty signed in November, to surrender to them all Englishmen for transportation to Batavia. The English factors, thus betrayed by the king, were also treated with "barbarous inhumanity" by the victorious Dutchmen.

Official protests that the conduct of the Dutch at Macassar openly violated the treaty of Breda were sent to The Hague, the matter was adjusted, and as a result a new warehouse opened in 1668 at Macassar by the East India Company.

Some 800 miles from Macassar was another important spice center—the small island of Pularoon—from which the English had been so ruthlessly expelled in 1621, and which was so long a subject of dispute with The Hague. In December, 1654, the court of

directors ordered a ship carrying sixty colonists to settle on the island. After bitter clashes with Dutch planters, it was abandoned to the Hollanders.

Borneo, which had long been known to Spanish, Portuguese, and Dutch traders, was first visited by English ships in 1609, and factories established at the ports of Banjarmasin, Bambas, and Sukadana on the island, where gold, bezoar stones, diamonds, pepper, dragon's blood, wax, and other miscellaneous commodities could be purchased. The inhabitants of southern Borneo proved a kindly, tractable people who welcomed the arrival of English traders to their land.

The settlements, however, were short-lived. At Bambas in western Borneo, factors were forced to leave the island; in 1622, at Sukadana, where diamonds were procured, the English trading post was burned, and two factors murdered, during a war between the king of Borneo and the Javanese ruler of Mataram.

At Banjarmasin, the native port where the leading English factory was established on Borneo, trade continued without difficulty for a time, as much as 150,000 pounds of pepper being shipped annually from this port to England. Then in 1639 the Banjarmasin factory, a victim of Dutch plots, was forced to close its doors when the Dutch, claiming a monopoly of the pepper trade, forced the English off the island. British commerce with Banjarmasin was not resumed until early in the eighteenth century when a grant was procured from the king of Borneo authorizing the English to erect a fortified factory and buy pepper in his territory.

Notwithstanding the king's permit, the natives proved so treacherous that a large guard of soldiers had to be sent to the island. By 1703 this precarious situation, as well as the misconduct of the Company's servants on the island, caused the Company to order President Landon's withdrawal from Borneo. The English retained a precarious foothold, nevertheless, until 1733, when their traders were finally forced to leave the country permanently.

In the northern part of the island, held by another ruler, the sultan of Sulu, the English established a factory at the port of Borneo. This, however, was destroyed by an uprising of native

chiefs in 1775, which brought to an end British influence in Borneo.

Of more lasting importance to the Company was their trade with Burma. Early English intercourse with Burma did not arise, as it did with Sumatra, Java, Borneo, and the Spice Islands, from the urge to procure pepper, but rather from the desire of the East India Company to bring to London products from Japan and China. In the Company's quest to acquire merchandise from these two great Oriental countries, British factories were opened in Burma, the Malay Peninsula, Siam, and Cochin China.

The first European to visit Burma was a Venetian traveler, Nicolo di Conti, who reached there in 1435. A century and a half later, in 1587, an Englishman, Ralph Fitch, first visited Pegu, near modern Rangoon, then the capital of southern Burma. Although Burma, according to the reports of Ralph Fitch, was a rich land, yet it lacked the spices for which there was a steady demand in Europe, producing only musk, teakwood, and gumlac.

In 1619, Anaukpetlum received at his court at Pegu two English envoys, Henry Forrest and John Stavelly, who had come to recover the property of one of their factors who had been captured during a recent Burmese-Siamese war and taken to Pegu, where he died. After waiting six months to receive the deceased factor's property, the two envoys were told that his possessions would not be released. The king offered them, instead, a ring, betel nuts, and other gifts, together with a letter written on a palm leaf, asking the English to send ships to trade with Pegu. This was the time of the tragedy at Amboyna, and so, because of difficulties with the Dutch in the Spice Islands, the Company was reluctant to open a factory, or trading post, in Burma.

The founding of a factory at Masulipatam early in the seventeenth century and the development of the Coromandel Coast after 1640, brought Burma into closer contact with British interests. This was the time when the Persian commerce, which gave early promise of being so lucrative, had begun to dwindle alarmingly, and the Surat Council, disturbed over its loss, had begun to investigate the possibilities of trade between their east-coast factories and Burma,

a trade of which the few Interlopers and private traders who had already visited this strange land had given promising reports.

Finally, in 1647, an English factory was opened in southern Burma, at the town of Syriam, now known as Rangoon, and another, a minor trading post, at the up-country town of Ava which had replaced Pegu as the capital. The three factors, Thomas Breton, Richard Potter, and Richard Knipe, who had come over on the *Endeavor* from Fort St. George, received certain concessions, including the right to build a warehouse and docks at Ava, and certain minor privileges at Syriam, but failed to secure a treaty, or trade agreement, from the local ruler. Notwithstanding, trade between Madras and Burma proved so lucrative that by 1650 profits had reached the satisfactory level of 40 per cent.

In the Anglo-Dutch war that followed, the Dutch proved their claims to many of the rich regions in the Orient. A large proportion of English shipping was bottled up at this time in Oriental ports, many vessels were captured, and in Burma Dutch bribes judiciously distributed at the court, strangled English commerce.

By 1653 prices in Burma had fallen to unprofitable levels, "the King having prohibited his natives by proclamation upon pain of death, from selling either tynne or teeth to strangers."

At the same time, back in England, the financial structure of the East India Company was being slowly undermined by antagonistic interests. The drastic order issued in May, 1654, to close or reduce all outlying factories included Syriam, which in 1658 was abandoned by order of the Council at Fort St. George.

From then on to the end of the seventeenth century the Anglo-Burmese trade was kept alive primarily by local merchants along the Coromandel Coast who sold to British factories Burmese gold, copper, tin, quicksilver, and the fine grade of gumlac, "Black Pegu sticklac," used, in those days, for sealing wax.

The closing, in 1676, of the Dutch station in Burma, revived British interest in their abandoned post of Syriam. Four years later Sir Streynsham Master, in charge of Fort St. George at that time, sent a Portuguese envoy, João Perera de Faria, a resident of Madras who was familiar with Burma, to that country to discuss a poten-

tial trade agreement with the king of Ava, a proposal which the Burmese monarch declined, unfortunately, to consider. A second Burmese mission, in charge of Captain Peter Dod, met with the same unfavorable reception a few years later. In 1695 the mission of Edward Fleeewood and James Lesley met with success.

Revived finally in 1709, the Syriam factory remained open until 1743, supplying firearms, cloth, and miscellaneous articles to the Burmese, and taking out ivory, gumlac, pepper, cardamon, cottons, silks, jewels, lead, tin, copper, iron, and silver. Private trade between Madras and Syriam continued to flourish at this time; ships desirous of using the Burmese teak for which the land was famous put in constantly at Rangoon for repairs; and the Burmese government, when not involved in wars, began to regard with greater favor British overtures from Madras.

In 1743, when the post was destroyed by fire, the British residents of Syriam then moved to a port on the west coast called Negrais Bassein, where they were given an official permit by Emperor Alaungpa to open factories. The Bassein house met a tragic fate several years later when, owing to court intrigue, its entire staff was massacred. The difficulties and obstacles encountered in Burma had proved so constant that very little effort was made after this time to promote commercial intercourse; what desultory trade the Company had with Burma was carried on only with Rangoon.

Throughout these decades Burmese living along the northwest frontier had proved a constant menace to Britishers living in the Bay area. They had invaded the Company's territory, murdered and enslaved English residents, destroyed their property, and captured their elephants, a situation that led finally to an Anglo-Burmese war.

English traders visiting Siam and the Malay Peninsula in the seventeenth century experienced much the same antipathy, distrust, and ill will encountered in Burma. In Siam, Portuguese and Dutch traders who were already established at Ayuthia, employed their customary tactics against the English newcomers and so poisoned the minds of the court officials that the English were constantly "debaced by the Portugals"; while the Dutch, "which continually

lurke in Malacca straights and permitt not anything to pass," indulged in their old pastime of blockading English ships in the ports.

The first factors to locate on the Peninsula and in Siam were those left ashore by the Saris expedition of 1611, bound for Japan, which attempted to open a trading house at Patani on the Peninsula and at Ayuthia in Siam, the latter the central trading post for the eaglewood and deerskin for which Siam was famous. These posts were subsequently closed because of internal difficulties, the accounts of the young factors, especially those at Patani, being in such confusion that in 1622 the houses there and at Ayuthia were abandoned.

An attempt to revive Anglo-Siamese trade was made in 1662 when the captain of the *Hopewell*, having learned that "the King was very desirous that the English should come and reside here," made Ayuthia a port of call. But by the following year, when the *Madras Merchant* also touched at Siam, conditions had changed, and the ship's captain reported that the wily Dutch "rooke that time just when the ship was there, to pick a quarrel with the Kinge, which soon after they as easily reconciled when they saw that we had lost the oppertunitie of the sale of our goods."

Faced constantly with this omnipresent Dutch ill will, Siamese tin, varnish, deerskins, and "precious drugs" continued to prove difficult to procure for the English market, and the factory at Ayuthia of negligible importance. This was finally abandoned in 1688, after four Englishmen who had settled at Mergui had been murdered by the natives. English traders at Siam then settled on Pulo Penang, an island controlled by the Siamese dependency of Kedah from which, in 1786, the East India Company secured a permanent lease to trade, in return for an annual payment of £10,000 to the king of Kedah. The Company now renamed it Prince of Wales's Island, calling their colony Georgetown. The settlement soon became a center for pepper, betel nuts, and coffee, and by 1804 had a mixed population of 20,000.

Trade relations with Siam were not placed on a sound footing until 1824 when British interests became firmly entrenched on the Malay Peninsula and in Siam. These were further strengthened,

two years later, by a treaty of friendship signed between Siam and England.

Time and again during these centuries the long arm of the East India Company was attempting, by establishing houses at intermediate ports, to reach out to China, to Japan, to the Philippines, Burma, Siam, and the Malay Peninsula. Yet Burma, Siam, and the Malay Peninsula all had proved failures as points for intermediate factories, stepping stones to the remote East. In 1702, to further the Company's policy of eastward expansion, a factory was opened at Pulo Condore, an island off the Mekong estuary in Cochin China, where Chinese produce brought in from Nanking could be purchased at prices commensurate with those paid in China.

The Pulo Condore factory remained open less than three years. On March 2, 1705, there occurred another of those tragedies that befell so many of the East India Company's young settlements when, during an uprising of Malay soldiers, their warehouses were burned and most of the Englishmen on the island murdered. What guns, stores, and settlers escaped were hastily removed to Banjer-masin and a strongly fortified post erected.

Another attempt to establish a base for Oriental trade was made in 1672 and 1673 at Tonquin in Cochin China, where an English agent, Mr. Gyfford, attempted by handsome gifts to the king to secure permission for a factory, but found him too arbitrary and independent to offer any encouragement to British commerce.

The last outlying settlement to be established by the East India Company was on the island of Ceylon, also an old Portuguese-Dutch stronghold. Discovered in 1505 by Francisco de Almeida, by 1517 a Portuguese fort had been erected on the island at Colombo and trade established with Goa. Nearly a century later the Dutch admiral, Spilberg, landed on the east coast where he was warmly welcomed and urged to remain by the king of Kandy, who cordially disliked his Portuguese neighbors. It was not long before the Dutch, by a series of wars and alliances, were firmly entrenched in Ceylon where, by 1660, they had acquired control of the chain of forts built by the Portuguese along the east coast.

Although the Company's ships had been calling at Singhalese

ports since the time of its earliest voyages, so unsettled had been political conditions on the Island, and so tenacious the hold of the local Portuguese and Dutch residents on its commerce, that the time had not seemed opportune to found an English factory on Ceylon. Ever since 1632, however, English factors in the Far East had been urging the East India Company to trade direct with Ceylon, in competition with the Portuguese and Hollanders.

"The Portugals," the factors wrote, "doe dyly decline in the Indies, and no question oportunitie wil bee offered at Seland (Ceylon) or other ports there adjacente, whereby to joyne issue with these people; and to settle a trade may prove very bennificiall."

Notwithstanding, the Company did not feel that the time was ripe to attempt to promote Anglo-Singhalese commerce. That same year—1632—the Portuguese, who were engaged in wars with Ceylon, had defeated the king of Kandy; in 1640, the Dutch captured the port of Galle and, emboldened by their success, were fighting the Portuguese for control of the rich cinnamon trade of Ceylon.

More direct knowledge of the potential wealth of Ceylon came from Charles Wylde, who visited the island in the middle of the seventeenth century, made many maps and charts, and kept an interesting diary of his experiences. Enthusiastic about what he had seen, on July 14, 1647, he wrote from Bantam to the president of Surat, describing his trip to Ceylon.

"I thinke a man," he writes, "never saw a better place, I say not only for the managing of the Company's affayres; for trimming of there ships and for good tymber man never saw better in these parts, Madraspatam being but a dung hill to it. Cynamon, beetlenutts, and grayne are produced there."

Not long after this letter was written, the Dutch made a fresh attempt to drive the Portuguese from Ceylon, finally acquiring control, in 1658, of the cinnamon trade on the island. This opened the doors to English interests; for the local chiefs, eager to make protective alliances with a strong foreign power as a countercheck to Dutch encroachment, looked to the British settlements in south-eastern India as the logical solution to their problem. On January

18, 1659, the first overture was made when the "President received a verie kind letter signed by eight of the cheife merchants at these partes wherein they give great encouragement for trade."

The first English attempt to trade on the island was made in 1661, when the Company ordered an agent, Mr. Pybus, to visit Ceylon and negotiate with the king of Kandy for a permit to establish a factory. Pybus, who has left an interesting account of his mission, was also instructed to arrange for the release of prisoners, wrecked off the coast, seized by the Malabars, and held captive on Ceylon. Although during his visit, which took place three years later, he presented elaborate gifts, including brass guns, a Persian horse, five dogs, looking glasses, silks and silver, to the Kandian ruler, he failed to accomplish his objective.

The next British envoy sent to Ceylon was Hugh Boyd, who went to Kandy to solicit the king's help against the Dutch. This was not secured and, in 1795, during an Anglo-Dutch war in Europe, the English at Madras decided to strike at the island. Troops under Colonel James Stuart were sent over from Madras and the Dutch forts there captured. On February 16, 1796, the English flag was raised, a signal that Dutch rule was at an end. In England, Pitt and Melville felt that Ceylon should become the property of the Crown, but the Company refused to relinquish their newly acquired territory.

Two years later, however, after the Company's representative, a Madras civilian, Mr. Andrews, had introduced such drastic administrative reforms that rebellion broke out, the island became Crown property. In October, 1798, its first British governor, Frederick North, landed at Colombo and assumed control of Ceylon. Then, in 1803, by the treaty of Amiens, British control was fully recognized when all Dutch holdings on the island were ceded to Great Britain. Finally, in 1815, the British acquired Kandy, and with it the entire sovereignty of the island.

CHAPTER XVI

In Old Madras

BY THE MIDDLE of the seventeenth century India rather than the Spiceries, China, or the Near East was the goal of the Company's East Indiamen, which usually touched at the southern presidency of Madras.

From its humble origin as the small trading post of Fort St. George, Madraspatam, known to the English as Madras, soon developed into one of the Company's three Indian presidencies. Somewhat isolated by its situation far down on the southeastern coast of India, the development of Madras differed radically from that of the two northern presidencies, Calcutta on the east, and Bombay on the west.

The Coromandel Coast, on which it lay, was remote from the mogul's stronghold at Delhi, the seat of control of India, and so was affected by the political intrigues of powerful native rulers whose strongholds were in the south. Madras was also close to the French settlements in India and the object of attack whenever an Anglo-French war broke out in Europe.

Not far from Madras, in Java, Sumatra, and the Spice Islands, were the forts of the powerful Dutch East India Company, whose policy was to force the English out of the Spiceries and, if possible, from India. When the English were finally forced by their overt hostility to leave Java, Madras became the leading commercial center for the south, and the gateway to Burma, Siam, China, Japan, and the Philippines.

In addition to these geographical and political features, the rapid development of Madras was also based on certain favorable local conditions. Its climate was more healthful than that of Bombay or the Bay region; the English who lived there did not die off with

the appalling rapidity so commonly found throughout India; the country supplied a wide variety of excellent game, fish, rice, fruits, and vegetables; and native workers, as well as Portuguese from the adjoining town of San Thomé, were available in large numbers.

The early prosperity of Madras appears to coincide with the granting of the Cromwell charter, and to have continued despite foreign wars, internal difficulties, and drastic changes of policy in England. The first definite change occurred in 1652, during the regime of Aaron Baker, when English headquarters in the Far East were moved from Bantam to Fort St. George.

Yet the early days at Madras were not wholly roseate ones and Aaron Baker, who reached the post to which he had been appointed in September, 1652, encountered many problems whose solution taxed to the full his wit and energy. Violent disputes over precedent and rights had arisen in the native settlement; what were known as left- and right-hand castes, made up of artisans, accountants, and leather workers employed by the Company were keeping Black Town in an uproar which did not die out until Baker isolated the rival castes in separate streets and quarters. In addition to native quarrels, Baker found that the members of the Madras council had disagreed and split into two groups, each backed by its own coterie at the fort.

Disturbances within the fort were complicated by external problems, notably the Anglo-Dutch war, and the fear that Madras might be attacked by enemy forces, a peril fortunately that the inmates of Fort St. George escaped. To prepare for this contingency, Baker rushed preparations to strengthen Madras, completing, in 1653, the fourth section, or curtain, of the fort.

No sooner had the danger of attack by Dutch forces passed than Baker was called upon to intervene in a religious controversy that was agitating the leading Catholic and Protestant circles of Madras, a disagreement that arose when the activities of two cultivated and scholarly priests, Fathers Ephraim de Nevers and Zenon de Baugé, clashed with those of the fort's Protestant chaplain, the Reverend William Isaacson, who hastened to have the Catholics, whom he considered militant rebels, removed from Madras.

Another problem which Baker was called upon to settle was the low morale of the British soldiers living at the fort. "The maintenance," he wrote, "of so many debauched and wicked persons as have been continued under the name of souldiers in the Fort hath not only been a great charge unto us, but by their unchristianlike living, hath also brought a scandall to our nation and religion, and calls upon us for a reformation."

Baker left Madras early in 1655, leaving Henry Greenhill, the leader who had so bitterly opposed his attempts to bring law and order into a community infested with corruption, for a second time in charge of the fort. The easy-going Greenhill faced complications at Madras even more grave than those that had confronted his high-minded predecessor.

Mir Jumlah, who had been campaigning vigorously in Golconda, had finally won the favor of the emperor of Delhi, and, flushed with victory, in September, 1657, backed a seven months' siege of Madras led by the general, Krishnappa. With the guns of the army of Golconda thundering at his gates, in April, 1658, Greenhill came to terms with the enemy, agreeing to pay them a tribute of 380 pagodas annually in place of the customs tax.

A few months later Henry Greenhill died suddenly of dropsy, as his enemies sarcastically said, "haveing infuriated his corpus magnum with an overplus of beverage, and so, being tapt for it, he dyed the next morning."

The appointment with extensive powers, in February, 1662, of Sir Edward Winter as agent of Fort St. George and Bengal would, the court of directors confidently believed, bring peace, stability, and prosperity to the British colony at Madras. At this time Fort St. George was the rendezvous of a large group of private traders who were amassing fortunes on the side while working in minor capacities in the Company's service. Winter's main task, one, incidentally, that made him immediately unpopular, was to send to England for punishment all independent private traders, and to check all illegal transactions among the Company's servants.

When Sir Edward stepped ashore at Madras on September 22, 1662, he found conditions there bordering on the chaotic. The

adjoining Portuguese settlement of San Thomé had been captured by Mir Jumlah's forces, and hundreds of panic-stricken Portuguese had taken refuge in the British fort, whose main defense consisted only of twenty-six soldiers armed with butcher knives. That Madras could withstand Mir Jumlah's forces if he chose to attack seemed to Sir Edward extremely doubtful. An appeal for muskets, shot, and reinforcements was sent immediately to England, but before they arrived the danger was over. The withdrawal of Mir Jumlah, combined with the Anglo-Dutch peace of 1663, brought temporary respite to the British colonists at Madras.

Threats of war, however, had strangled the trade and revenues of Fort St. George. Winter's most pressing task at this time was to revive commerce, establish new contacts with up-country weavers and merchants, and secure a share of the spice trade concentrated heretofore at Bantam. The London office had also instructed Winter to renew, if possible, commercial activities with Siam and Japan.

Yet trade failed to revive, and many unpleasant letters slandering Winter, written by factors stationed at Fort St. George, were mailed to the offices of the Company in England. In these missives the Madras agent was accused of placing relatives in lucrative posts, of failing to attend Protestant divine service, of favoring Catholicism, and of making a personal fortune from illegal sources.

Although these tale-bearing letters were primarily the work of vindictive factors and writers whose private ventures had been investigated by Sir Edward, they served the purpose of arousing the suspicion and indignation of the court of directors in London. A special agent, Nicholas Buckeridge, was sent to Madras in 1664 to investigate the conduct of Sir Edward Winter, who was asked to resign in favor of George Foxcroft.

Foxcroft, who reached the fort on June 22, 1665, was the first ruler at Madras to receive the formal title of governor. Upon his arrival, he took over the keys of the fort, while Winter remained at Madras as a member of the local council. Although outwardly courteous and amicable, yet at heart Sir Edward was far from satisfied with the new arrangement. Biding his time, he waited until

he heard the blunt puritanical Foxcroft criticize the king of England for his lax morals and wanton conduct, then decided to seize him as a traitor.

Francis Chuseman, a factor at Fort St. George, in the following graphic letter sent from Madras at this time to the Company in London, tells what occurred when Foxcroft was made prisoner:

"I with the rest was commanded by Sir Edward Winter, in His Majesty's name, to secure the Governor and his sonne for severall treasonable words spoken by them, and sworn against them. Which being once divulged was the cause of the irruption of the Broyles, when your soldiers generally cried out 'For the King, for the King,' and there was a great hurly burly and confusion in your Fort on the suddine."

In the melee, Foxcroft was captured, several men injured, and the deposed governor, Sir Edward Winter, reinstated in the gubernatorial chair. Under Winter's self-imposed rule, affairs at the fort proceeded for a time as usual, while Foxcroft stormed and raged at his enforced confinement as "rebel and traitor."

In London circles the news of Winter's coup d'etat at Fort St. George and the confinement of the newly appointed governor, Foxcroft, was regarded as so grave a breach of law and order that the king's aid was enlisted, and a royal order issued compelling the rebel, Winter, to surrender the fort at the Company's request.

In 1699, when the royal warrant was received at Madras, Foxcroft was released and reinstated in office. Winter was pardoned and allowed to go to Metchlepatam until his return two years later to England.

On January 18, 1672, Foxcroft too sailed for England. For the next seven years the governing of Madras fell into the capable hands of Sir William Langham, a man of outstanding integrity and ability. In addition to Fort St. George, Sir William's control extended to the Company's forts up and down the Coromandel Coast, and the Bay, including Petapoli, Madapollam, Balasore, Chittagong, Hugli, Kasinbazar, and Patna.

Under his capable guidance Madras, which was visited at that time by several famous travelers, became a delightful residential

city. By this time the fort lying along the waterfront was surrounded by a stout, well-fortified wall, on whose four turrets stood ten guns. Entrance to the fort was through heavy, iron-bound gates. Of its appearance Daniel Havart writes, "Madraspatam is very strongly built like a castle in the European manner, and provided with four bastions. Inside there is a little fort, built of ironstone but without a moat. Within this dwells the English governor, and certain English of note. The remaining English (for they possess the whole town) live outside or in the city."

The adjoining English settlement, with its broad, clean, tree-shaded streets, was lined with substantial mansions, built in a semi-classical Italian manner, with colonnades, balconies, and courts, of strong native materials. By this time Madras had a mint, hospital, church, "so beautiful that it is a pleasure to peep into it," a library, and many warehouses.

Outside the wall, and separated from the fort by a large native bazaar where all business was transacted, was the native settlement of Black Town, an area crowded with native dwellings, pagodas, and courts of justice. Morning after morning crowds of native merchants from Black Town assembled near the main gate where they sold diamonds from Golconda, pearls from Tuticorin, rubies from Burma, sandalwood from Mysore, grain, spices, saltpeter, calico, and miscellaneous ware, to English merchants from the Fort.

Beyond Black Town stretched the large rice fields that supplied the natives with food, and the English country estates, in whose cool and fragrant gardens grew the guavas, mangoes, plums, pomegranates, bananas, herbs, and green vegetables enjoyed by the British colony. With the luxuries thus available, banquets at Madras assumed almost the proportions of a Roman banquet; even at the evening meal at the fort, the dining table, at whose head sat Sir William, constantly fanned by peacock feathers mounted in a silver handle, fairly groaned under its great platters of fish, fowl, meats, vegetables, pastries, and fruits.

In old Madras the small amenities of daily life were an accepted part of social intercourse. At home and abroad Sir William Langham punctiliously observed the fine points of official etiquette. He was

accompanied by a guard of four hundred natives and never left the fort without a band consisting of fifes, drums, and trumpets, and an escort of English factors and officials on horseback and ladies in palankeens. Diversion in old Madras was found in billiards, backgammon, and picnics, and, for some, in the conviviality of the local punchhouses. Although every effort was made at Fort St. George to encourage high moral standards and impeccable conduct, yet many of the young men, particularly the junior civil servants, were often censured by the council for rude and boisterous demeanor. The militia as well as the Madras council was called in at times to keep order; especially at mealtime there had "not been a sufficient Decorum kept up among our young People, and Particularly among the young Writers and Factors."

What caused the London office more concern than the high spirits of its young servants at the official dinner table was surreptitious gambling, a vice which they penalized heavily. In a letter sent to the council at Madras, the court of directors wrote: "The mischievous vice of gambling, we understand, continues and even encreases amongst our covenant servants, Free merchants, and others residing at our settlement in India for great sums of money, and the women are also infect therewith," warning the Council that the practise must be checked.

Estimates made by the traveler, Dr. John Fryer, in 1672, reveal that there were some 300 Englishmen and 1,000 Portuguese at Fort St. George; the population was increased day by day by refugees from San Thomé, which had been captured in 1672 by the Frenchman, de la Haye, and attacked a year later by a Dutch squadron of thirteen vessels.

In Langham's day one of the most important events that took place was the renewal on January 21, 1672, of the privileges, granted twenty-nine years earlier by the nawab to the Company, in return for an annual payment of 1,200 pagodas. This farman of 1672 gave English traders renewed confidence in the future of Madras, a confidence that was soon reflected in the higher salaries given the underpaid Company's servants. From now on an apprentice at Madras received from £5 to £10, writers (or clerks) £10, factors

£20, merchants £40, junior merchants £50, and governors £300 annually.

Unfortunately, the last years of Langham's able governorship were clouded by rumors of native disturbances. Hordes of ruthless Marathas led by the invincible Sivaji were believed to be on their way to Madras, causing preparations to be rushed for the town's defence; and, in 1674, the Golconda menace was revived when the Dutch restored San Thomé, captured from the Portuguese, to its former native rulers.

Even more harassing to Langham than the threats of invasion by native freebooters were the tales circulated throughout Fort St. George and around London by "backbiting" factors of corrupt practices on the part of the governor. Weary, disgusted, and incensed at the unjustness of these reports, in 1678 Sir William Langham handed in his resignation and sailed for England.

Sir William was succeeded in office at Madras by Streynsham Master, a man of great courage who had distinguished himself in the defense of Surat against Sivaji's forces in 1670, and whose diaries afford delightful glimpses of old India. Although an able leader, a reformer of the judicial system, and one of the first Englishmen to discard the old-fashioned methods of punishment by the use of whips, mangles, chains, and bolts, Master's independent ways caused Sir Josia Child to have him dismissed from office.

A similar fate befell the next governor of Madras, William Gyfford, who was dismissed in 1687 in favor of Elihu Yale. In Yale's day Madras was elevated to the rank of a regency under the protection of the king of England; the British flag flew over the fort; fortifications were extended and reinforced; 300 soldiers from the King's troops in Ireland were drafted for service at Fort St. George; and emergency supplies sufficient for six months were stored in the fort.

Madras was also incorporated at this same time as a city, controlled by a mayor, ten aldermen, and 120 burgesses who wore elaborate wigs and robes emblematic of their station. To defray the increasing cost of this new administration in Madras, taxes were

levied on the citizens, and a duty of 5 per cent placed on the customs.

Elihu Yale, who within fifteen years had risen in the employ of the East India Company from the humble rank of writer to the post of governor, began his term of office on July 25, 1687, a time when Madras was again the hub of internal and external unrest. The local council failed—as it so often failed—to work harmoniously with the new governor; wars in the Carnatic sent hordes of lawless Marathas to the environs of Madras; an Anglo-French war brought a hostile French fleet to Fort St. George; and Interlopers and privateers were absorbing more and more of the Company's commerce.

At home the Company's immediate need was for more revenues; in the Far East, for more factories. For this reason Governor Yale enlarged the lucrative pepper port of Bencoolen and purchased for 30,000 pagodas the town of Negapatam, south of Madras, which was called Fort St. David. Yale also brought many weavers to Black Town in Madras to produce more muslins for England and, by 1692, no fewer than 400,000 whites and natives were living in or near the fort.

Having guided the destinies of Madras for five years, Yale was replaced by Sir John Goldsborough, but continued to reside at Madras until the end of the century.

This was the period of the formation of another group, the English East India Company, which, until finally amalgamated with the older organization, established many factories in India, and sent out rival governors to compete with those already established at the three Anglo-Indian presidencies.

John Pitt was selected by the English company to take charge of Masulipatam, not far from Madras, where he antagonized and annoyed his distant relative, Governor Thomas Pitt, who was in charge of Fort St. George from 1698 to 1709, a period of eleven years.

Notwithstanding the competition of a rival company—Thomas Pitt had orders from London to refuse assistance to all rival agents

—his regime was the golden age of Madras. Villages and revenues were added to the Company's holdings, and Madras entered on an era of unprecedented expansion and progress. Although an outstanding personality and an administrative genius of the first order, Governor Pitt's fame rests above all else on his ownership of a famous diamond of 400 carats, purchased in 1701, which he sold for £135,000 to the regent of France.

On May 6, 1703, the *Howland*, dropping anchor off Madras, brought news that the two rival Companies had been amalgamated. Their union brought renewed prosperity to Madras, a prosperity that continued for forty years or more until another Anglo-French war broke out in Europe.

Edward Harrison, Pitt's successor, who guided the destinies of Madras from 1711 to 1717, gave much time and thought to erecting fine public buildings commensurate with the rapid growth of Madras. Shortly before his governorship ended, Bengal, Surat, and Madras received from the mogul at Delhi three new farmans, an occasion celebrated with "all the English Musick, a banquet, bonfires at night, salutes from the guns at the fort, and a free indulgence in Bombay punch."

Assured, by these farmans, of the mogul's continued interest in Anglo-Indian commerce, the East India Company's imports and exports rose steadily in value. Between 1718 and 1720 the revenues of Madras alone exceeded 60,000 pagodas, and continued to increase during the governorships of Francis Hastings and James Macree, whose terms extended through the third decade of the eighteenth century.

In 1730 a reaction set in; the directors despaired of ever seeing "Madras retrieve its ancient glory of sending several thousand bales of calico in a season." Both grain and cotton in and around Madras had become scarce; weavers, owing to the ravages of the Marathas, were unable to produce calico at low prices for the English market. The local market was further depressed by fears of a Maratha invasion which seemed so imminent in 1743 that English and Portuguese were armed and drilled to defend Madras. Although George Norton Pitt and Richard Benyon, who governed Madras

at this period, were able leaders, yet the conditions under which they ruled prevented progress.

In 1744 came war with France; it was followed by La Bourdonnais's attack early in September on Madras. Faced with inadequate forces, the English decided to concentrate their defense on White Town, where the women and children were placed for protection inside the church. Forced to surrender on the tenth, the English prisoners were sent from Madras to Fort St. David, where they were held for £481,250 ransom payable to the French East India Company.

Dupleix, under whose command La Bourdonnais had been placed, declared certain terms of the agreement unsatisfactory, but after a long series of negotiations, Madras was restored to the English company. A second siege of Madras took place in December, 1758, when a new commander, Count Lally, was sent out from France. By this time, although the defenses of Madras had been strengthened and the garrison enlarged, the fort could muster only 4,000 men against 6,000 opposing Frenchmen.

Notwithstanding, a valiant defense was put up at Madras; bales of woollen cloth, laid on the roof of the fort for protection against French shells, withstood Lally's fire from December 10 to February 10, when the French forces retired. Much of the credit for English success may be attributed to the governor, George Pigot, whose courage, coolness, and judgment kept order in the fort during these trying weeks.

The rehabilitation of Madras, after peace was declared in Europe, fell to the hands of four short-term governors, Robert Polk, Charles Bouchier, Josias de Pré, and Alexander Wynch, whose careers were of slight importance.

Politics and native wars in the back country, however, continued to disturb Madras, as shown in a contemporary letter written by Dawsonne Drake to Sir George Pocock in England:

"The approach of the Marathas to the Borders of the Carnatic have somewhat alarmed us, but it's very uncertain whether they will molest us or not. The nabob endeavors to keep upon good terms with them, but our late acquisition of Tanjore has raised their

jealousies and apprehensions. How the affair will end, I can't say. The English are standing neuter."

Madras continued at this time to show improvement and increase in population, commerce, and civic development. An anonymous traveler, returning to London from the Far East, published in the *Genuine Memoirs of Asiaticus* an account of his visit in August, 1774, to Madras. "I feel myself highly prepossessed in favor of Madrass," he writes. "The elegance of the buildings, the beautiful rows of trees which form an agreeable shade on each side of the streets, and the universal appearance of wealth and magnificence, must strike forcibly on the eye of a stranger. The houses of the English gentlemen are lofty and well-proportioned, and from their construction are so extremely cool that I can scarcely believe myself in the torrid zone. Every person who can afford it has a country retreat at the distance of a few miles, which is called a garden-house, and is fitted up with peculiar elegance."

One of the salient features of colonial life in India was the endless difficulties that arose between members of the local councils, animosities which often led to tyrannical acts and miscarriages of justice. Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras all experienced at one time or another, on the part of their officials, feuds so bitter that intervention on the part of the court of directors was necessary.

Lord Pigot, who came out to Madras in 1775, was forced to suspend for misconduct several members of the council, who retaliated by charging the governor with arbitrary and illegal conduct, seizing him and keeping him in captivity on St. Thomas's Mount. Reports of this outrageous treatment of one of the East India Company's most prominent servants did not meet with the approval of the London directors, who sent Mr. Whitehill to Madras to demand the release of the prisoner; but before Whitehill reached Fort St. George, Lord Pigot had died on the Mount.

The death, in captivity, of this prominent British leader, aroused a wave of indignation in London circles. Numerous pamphlets were published both by his defenders and accusers, and a general court held to investigate the charges raised against Lord Pigot, whose name was finally cleared of any suspicion of misconduct.

The case of Lord Pigot was soon overshadowed by fresh complications that arose during the governorship of Sir Thomas Rumbold, who was in charge, from 1778 to 1780, of Fort St. George. Sir Thomas quarreled with the nizam, Hyder Ali, over the control of the Northern Circars and was finally called home in disgrace. Meanwhile, Hyder Ali took vengeance on the English by devastating the country for 50 miles around Madras and destroying the weaving industry on which Fort St. George relied for support. Hyder Ali's raids brought unprecedented hardships and famine to the native workers, and, indirectly, crippled the finances of the fort.

Conditions there were so unsatisfactory when the next governor, Lord Macartney, arrived, and so little improvement was noted, that a few years later Lord Cornwallis, in his capacity of governor-general, went personally to Madras to attempt to bring a semblance of order into a land filled with confusion and unrest.

Cornwallis may be termed the reformer of corrupt Madras. By his efforts fraudulent practises in every branch of the Company's service were uncovered. Idle relatives and friends of political leaders were removed from lucrative and easy berths. Salaries were also raised; he felt, as he wrote the court of directors, that the century-old policy of the Company should be altered, and "that it was not good economy to put men into places of the greatest confidence, where they have it in their power to make their fortunes in a few months, without giving them adequate salaries."

The change of policy now inaugurated, that resulted in the placing of Madras, together with Bombay, under the control of the governor-general of India at Calcutta, marks the dawn of a new age for venerable Fort St. George. No longer a weak colony, exposed to the raids of Indian rebels, it became at this time a part of greater British India.

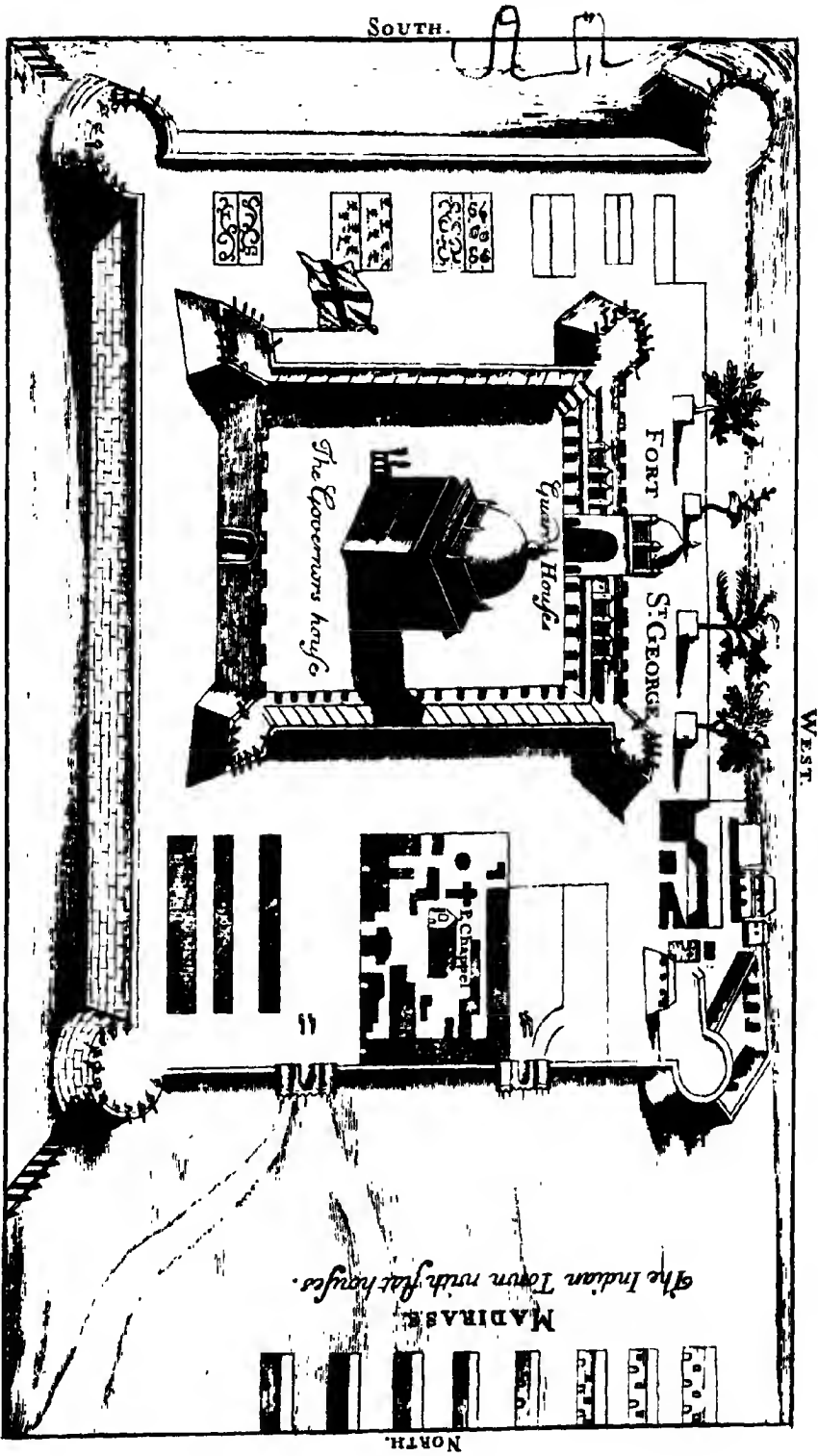
During these decades the Madras presidency was enlarging its boundaries, and in the second half of the eighteenth and early half of the nineteenth century, vast expanses of territory came under the sway of Fort St. George. The first acquisition of importance was an area near Madras known as the Chingleput district ceded, in 1763, to the English company by the nawab of Arcot. Two years

later the Northern Circars, from which the French had been driven, were acquired by the Company from the Mogul emperor, in return for an annual payment of £90,000 to the nizam of Hyderabad. This arrangement continued for sixty years when full rights of dominion were secured for the payment of a lump sum.

In 1792 Tipu, sultan of Mysore, ceded certain areas in Madura to the East India Company; in 1799 Coimbatore and Kanara, carved from the state of Mysore, and concessions in Tanjore, were added to the Madras presidency. The following year Bellary and Cuddapah were traded by the nizam of Hyderabad to the Company, in return for military assistance. In 1801, the nawab of the Carnatic materially enlarged the Company's east coast holdings, by additions from his territory. Finally, in 1839, the Company deposed the nawab of Kurnool for misgovernment, and annexed his country, raising the total area of lands owned by the Madras presidency to 150,000 square miles.



Fort St. George, Madras, in 1653



Fort St. George, Madras, showing government buildings and the steeple of St. Mary's, the first church erected by the English in India. From a painting by Lambert and Scott in the India Office

CHAPTER XVII

Bengal and Calcutta

IN THE CONQUEST and settlement of the vast province of Bengal, the East India Company reached the crest of its activities in India. The Company now emerged from its original role, that of a chartered group of merchants trading peacefully throughout the Far East, into a great governing body with control over extensive territories, revenues, and armies, a group that was destined to form the nucleus of a vast British colonial empire. The tale of this great conquest which began in 1620 and reached its peak two hundred years later, is one of the most dramatic records in all history.

The country known as Bengal, the cradle of the British empire in India, is a rich lush region watered by the Ganges and Brahmaputra rivers, a land whose wealth makes it the commercial hub of all India. The mighty waters of these great rivers and their many tributaries were the arteries by which Bengal commerce reached the coast and, by seasonal inundations, enriched the fertile flat lands and alluvial plains along their sources. Included in the Bengal area were the three provinces of Bihar, Orissa, and Bengal, known to the East India Company as the Bengal Establishment.

Toward the east, the closest neighbor of the Bengal Establishment was Burma; on the north rose what the historian Raynal, describing contemporary India, called "dreadful rocks"—the towering Himalayas—and the provinces of Bhutan and Nepal; on the south lay the Madras presidency; and on the west, the rich and extensive provinces of India's Mohammedan dictator, the great mogul.

The Greeks who visited early India attributed to Hercules the building in Bengal, known at that time as Vanga or Banga, of the great walled city of Palibothra, which, in Pliny's day, was renowned

wright, who had come up from Masulipatam for this purpose, from the nawab of Orissa, allowing the English the right to trade in Bengal. Under this license a factory was now established at Hari-harpur, and another at Balasore, a town where the climate was unhealthful, in Orissa.

On February 2, 1634, these privileges were extended for a longer period by what was known as the Golden Farman, a permit granted to the Company by Shah Jehan at Delhi for free trade throughout the mogul's domains, on condition that all ships bound for Bengal stop only at the port of Pippli. The two English factories established at this time lasted less than a decade. In 1642, notwithstanding the recommendations of Mr. Day, who had visited Balasore that year and advised the Company to continue to trade there, the factories were abandoned.

English factories were first opened in Bengal as the result of the visit of an Englishman, Gabriel Broughton, surgeon on the ship *Hopewell*, who had been called in 1645 to the nawab's court to give medical advice to his daughter. In return for these services Broughton persuaded the nawab to allow his countrymen, who were eager to acquire saltpeter, silk, and sugar for the English market, to trade in his domains.

These privileges were formally granted in 1651, the year when a small coastal vessel from Masulipatam, carrying four English factors and their merchandise, put in at the Bay. To Broughton, whom they visited at the nawab's court, they brought presents of scarlet cloth, gold and silver, lace, and a letter, asking him to help them get an official permit in Bengal. Broughton, reminding the nawab of his promise, secured a license for English merchants to trade in Bengal, in return for an annual payment of 3,000 rupees.

The first English settlement made after this permit was granted was at Hugli, 100 miles in from the Bay, on the Hugli River. But the river, which lacked lights and buoys, was too dangerous for large vessels to ascend, and for a time English merchandise was shipped up the river in small native vessels. Near Hugli the English found a Dutch trading post, Chinsurah, where a factory had been opened

in 1627, as well as a colony of Portuguese who had been trading for the past century in Bengal.

The proximity of their old enemies the Dutch merchants placed the English factors in an awkward dilemma in 1652, when war broke out with Holland. In the general reorganization that followed in the wake of the war, the East India Company moved its head office from Bantam to Fort St. George, ordered its Bengal factories abandoned, and its staff reduced.

For a time financial stringency, foreign wars, and Interlopers brought the Company to the brink of ruin, an abyss from which it soon rallied. Additional capital was now subscribed to revive and enlarge the semimoribund Company, an expansion justified by the brisk demand for Bengalese products—saltpeter, sugar, raw silk, cotton yarns, tumerac, gumlac, and taffetas—in the English market.

The Hugli venture had proved sufficiently successful to induce the English, during the revival of Indian trade that followed the granting to the Company of a new charter by Cromwell, to extend its activities in Bengal. In 1658 branch houses were opened at Kasimbazar, Balasore, and Patna under the jurisdiction of the Hugli agency. The new posts failed to function as smoothly as the East India Company had anticipated, primarily because the nawab adopted a policy of petty persecution toward English traders that was not conducive to an amicable relationship.

In retaliation for his treatment of British factors, in 1661 members of the Hugli agency seized a native junk on the Ganges, holding it as security for the recovery of back debts. When the nawab heard of this reckless act he ordered his general, Mir Jumlah, to seize the English house and factory at Hugli, unless the junk was returned without delay. Upon the advice of the governor of Surat, who warned the young English traders to beware of Moguls, who "usually offered civilities at the very moment when they intended to have recourse to violence and depredations," the Hugli factors reluctantly restored the boat to its owner.

In the belief that the strained relations with Mir Jumlah could

be adjusted and the confusion and disorder that prevailed in the English posts in their Bengal Establishment eradicated, the London Company appointed Sir Edward Winter as special agent to Bengal. Upon his arrival at the Bay, Sir Edward found conditions far worse than he had anticipated. The new nawab, Shaista Khan, who had recently ascended the Bengal throne, and who was now trying to enrich his purse at the expense of the English Company by capturing their saltpeter boats and holding them for ransom, was even more unfriendly than his predecessor, Mir Jumlah.

In England, where saltpeter was used to manufacture gunpowder, the "Peter" trade of Bengal was invaluable. In 1668, when a new English factory was opened at Decca, it was in such demand that 1,000 tons of it were sent to England. That year the Company shipped from London to Bengal £17,300 in goods and £55,000 in bullion, to be used to buy saltpeter, and by 1680 goods and bullion sent out to the Bay amounted to £230,000.

Two years later the Bengal agency, which had been managed until this time by the council at Fort St. George, was made an independent agency, with headquarters at the town of Hugli. The first cargo of opium to reach England appears to have been imported at this time; 20 duffers of it were purchased in Bengal in 1683 for shipment to London.

Lucrative as was the Bengal trade with its saltpeter, silks, opium, and sugar, yet its prosperity was seriously affected by a series of minor difficulties. After the death of Charles II, Interlopers flocked to the Bay; local agents carried on a profitable trade on the side; in 1683 the mogul, indifferent to the prosperity of the English visitors, levied a customs tax of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent on their merchandise. This tax, the factors wrote home, might easily kill "ye best flower in ye Company's garden."

To save its rich Bengal market from unjust extortion, Interloping, and private trading, the London company now adopted the policy of sending to the Bay special envoys whose task was to devise ways to check the political and economic chaos that prevailed in Bengal.

The direct result of this new policy was the appointment of Sir

William Hedges as special agent and governor of the Company's affairs in Bengal. Hedges's diary, kept during his visit from 1682 to 1684, gives an intimate portrait of men and events of that period. In Bengal, Hedges faced a difficult task, one made even more difficult by the personal enmity of Job Charnock, head of the English factory at Hugli, who had married a Hindu girl and adopted many native customs.

The immoral conduct of Job Charnock was the topic of considerable local gossip when the new envoy was at Hugli, rumors that to some extent caused Sir William to take a cordial dislike to the young reprobate. Sir William, on the other hand, was the victim of many petty discourtesies on the part of Hugli factors who resented his attempts to check their private trading ventures, forbidden by the Company's orders.

Far more serious than the petty misdemeanors of the Company's servants at Hugli in Sir William's estimation was the conduct of the Interlopers, who defied even the attempts of the vice admiral, Sir Thomas Grantham, who had been sent out from England in 1684 on the *Charles the 2nd* to check their illegal practises. By the time Hedges reached India, Interlopers were making serious inroads into the Company's trade, especially in Bengal, where they had succeeded in impressing the natives with their importance. The method used was a simple one, based on the Oriental viewpoint that "a guady shew and great noise adds much to a Public Person's credit in this country."

Visits paid by Interlopers to the English factory at Hugli, Hedges writes, were made, much to the annoyance of the East India Company's servants, not in small boats, but in lavishly decorated barges, in which they traveled in pomp and state, accompanied by musicians and large retinues of servants.

After two years Hedges, who seemed unable to check Interloping or to rectify the disorders in the Company's Bengal Establishment, was dismissed in disgrace, mainly because of slanderous letters criticizing his conduct that were sent to the London office by vindictive factors at the Bay.

One of the most unpleasant phases of English colonial life in

India at this period was the lack of confidence shown by the London Company in the men it appointed to positions of responsibility and trust in the Far East, and the bitter censure to which they were subjected. This occurred not only in Bengal, but in the south, especially at Madras, where Sir William Langham, Streynsham Master, William Gyfford, and Elihu Yale were successively appointed to the governorship of Fort St. George, then asked to resign, or removed in disgrace, without proper investigation into the charges brought against them.

In Bengal, Hedges met this same tragic fate; upon his return to England he was forced to face, in return for his labors on behalf of the Company, certain charges, which he bluntly calls "a Papier stuffed up with most impudent and notorious untruths, for which the Company, if they had the least grain of that Religion of goodness in them which they profess, they would have blushed to subscribe it."

Before his recall to England in disgrace, Hedges pointed out to the Company the need for a strongly fortified post near Hugli, capable of defense, in times of emergency, to protect English lives, property, and commerce. In 1685 the Company, acting upon this suggestion, directed its agents to attempt to secure from the nawab of Bengal some location with adjoining lands like those at Bombay, which might be fortified. A town 26 miles down the river from Hugli, called Sutanuti, or Chutanutte, was selected by Job Charnock as a suitable site for this purpose.

But before a fortified settlement could be built at Sutanuti, war broke out in Bengal. The origin of this conflict was a minor brawl in a bazaar where three English soldiers and a few natives exchanged hot words. Fighting started and English troops were called out to check the disturbance. The nawab resented English interference, war was declared, and, in December, 1686, the English were forced to retreat to Sutanuti. The mogul then seized the English factory at Patna, imprisoned the factors, and confiscated the Company's goods valued at 23,000 rupees. In February the English attacked the nawab's fort at Tanna, then retreated to Hijili Island,

where they remained until removed by Captain Heath's ship to Madras. In November, 1687, they returned for a brief period.

Finally, in July, 1690, the English factors moved from Madras to Bengal to re-establish commerce in Bengal and arrange for the erection of a fort. Meanwhile, after the sudden appearance of an English fleet off the Hugli had brought hostilities to an abrupt ending, a truce with the nawab of Bengal was negotiated by Job Charnock, and an agreement drawn up which included the restoration of all goods and property held by the English in Bengal, and the right to settle and fortify Sutanuti.

A few days after Captain Brooke arrived at Sutanuti on August 24, a list was drawn up and signed by Job Charnock, Francis Ellis, and Jeremiah Peachie, of the temporary buildings needed. Among them were "a warehouse; a dining room; the secretary's office to be repair'd; a Roome to sort cloth in; a Cookroom with its conveniences; an appartment for the Company's servants; the agents' and Mr. Peachie's houses to be repair'd which were part standing and a house to be built for Mr. Ellis, the former being totally demolished; the Guard House. These to be done with Mudd Walls and thatcht till we can gett ground whereon to build a factory."

How slowly the building of the fort progressed is apparent from the following letter sent on May 25, 1691—nine months later—from Fort St. George to the London office: "And the truth is, we live in a wild unsettled condition at Chuttanuttee, neither fortifyied houses nor Goedowns, only Tents, Hutts, and boats, with the strange charge of near 100; soldiers, guard ships, etc., for little or no business, and a doubtrfull foundation . . . The King's promist Phyrmand, being not yet sent from Surat."

By 1692 trade in Bengal had been re-established; the mogul's farman to trade customs free had been received; and the founding of Calcutta was under way. Official permission to fortify the settlement of Calcutta had not as yet been received, nor had the nawab's terms of peace been ratified by the great mogul.

On January 10, 1693, Job Charnock, the founder of Sutanuti, or Calcutta, died. His place was taken by Sir John Goldsborough,

who reached his new post six months later. Under Goldsborough's regime, the situation in Bengal began slowly to improve, the factory at Calcutta was put on a sounder financial basis, and the military force was reduced.

On November 9, 1698, there was signed at Calcutta a document of inestimable importance that marks the beginning of the English domination of Bengal—a deed of purchase, or *bai-namah*, whereby the English acquired by purchase from the grandson of Aurangzeb the three towns of Sutanuti, Govindpore, and Kalikata, "with rents and uncultivated lands and ponds and groves and rights over fishing and woodlands and dues from resident artisans, together with the lands appertaining thereto . . . in exchange for the sum of 1,300 rupees." That same year the agencies at Patna, Rajmahal and Balasore were closed, and trade concentrated at Calcutta, the board of directors in London having decided to restrict commercial activities in Bengal until the war with France was over.

Sutanuti became by this grant the most important English settlement in Bengal, and on December 20, 1699, Calcutta was declared a presidency and named Fort King William. Its first governor was Sir Charles Eyre. The growth of modern Calcutta, "city of palaces," a metropolis surrounded by a circular canal and salt lakes, with its great maiden, or park, its statues of Lord Roberts and Lord Lansdowne, its Indian Memorial Hall dedicated to Queen Victoria, its Government House, and its commerce, has obliterated all traces of the old fort, which once stood near the Post Office Compound on the west side of Dalhousie Square.

The actual site of the fort was on ground now occupied by the General Post Office, the new Government Offices, the Customhouse, and the East India Railway House.

Originally Old Fort William was a tetragonal structure 340 and 485 feet wide and 710 feet long, with bastioned corners mounting guns. The Dalhousie Square Gate is on the site of the Black Hole, with its memories of Holwell and Clive, and is marked by a tablet. Since Fort William was founded, the Hugli has changed its course, but in those days the fort stood directly on the waterfront.

Much of its subsequent commercial prosperity may be attributed to its situation on the Hugli and its proximity to the mouths of the Ganges and Brahmaputra with their wealth of river traffic. The Company warehouses, built along the fort, skirted what is now Koila Ghat Street. Old Fort William, which was begun by Eyre's successor, John Beard, was not completed until 1707.

While it was being built, an attempt was made to resettle the Hugli, Kasimbazar, Decca, Balasore and Malda factories, and to develop a wide trade in raw silk, pepper, drugs, and Chinese and Japanese wares. Gradually, in order not to arouse the animosity of the nawab, the English began to fortify their settlement as the Dutch and French had fortified their factories on the Hugli.

The growth of Calcutta was retarded about 1700 by difficulties that arose in England over the formation of a new English company trading to India, and by the fear that the death of Aurangzeb, now well along in years, would cause a civil war over the succession, with its disastrous effect on English commerce. The situation at Fort William was especially complicated at this time by the duplication of officials, both the old London group and the new English Company having sent presidents to represent them at the fort.

In 1699 the new Company's president, Sir Edward Littleton, reached Calcutta where he annoyed Beard, head of the old Company, and his associates by attempting to corner the Calcutta market and usurp their time-honored privileges. So much confusion arose as the result of this competition that trade at the fort was at a standstill until the rival companies were amalgamated in England. After the Godolphin award united the two groups, the factories at Kasimbazar and Patna were closed, English commerce in Bengal was concentrated at Calcutta, and Fort William was declared a presidency.

The elevation to the status of a presidency with its own governor marks the beginning of the real growth of Calcutta. It was at this time that plans were made to enlarge the fort; they were carried out over a period of years. The first wall of the enlarged fort was completed in 1707, the river wall in 1710, and the west curtain, or wall, completed in 1712. By the following year what ap-

peared to be a fairly substantial structure graced the waterfront, one, however, "that made a very pompous show to the waterside by high turrets of lofty buildings, but had no real strength or power of defense."

Within the enclosure of the fort were a magazine for arms and military supplies, hospital equipment, and blacksmiths' shops. Another long row of buildings contained the damp unhealthy lodgings occupied by the writers. Nearby stood the governor's mansion, a commodious building 245 feet long, built around an arcade, which was entered by a large gate. Sections of this house were used for offices, prisons (including the Black Hole), and assembly rooms, the governor being allowed the use only of one wing. The warehouses of the Company were beyond the south curtain, or wall, of the fort, as were the native bazaars.

Every year some work was done on the fort, which was known to be at best inadequate to withstand any major attacks. When the Maratha menace began to alarm all Bengal, preparations were rushed to prepare the fort against raids. After 1745 the batteries were enlarged, additional soldiers recruited, supplies stored within the enclosure, and funds lent native merchants to dig a moat, or ditch, around the city.

Despite these preparations, Fort William was too weak to resist the attack in 1756 of Siraj-u-daula, who damaged the fort in his capture of Calcutta. The return of the English to Fort William under the protection of the pro-English nawab, Mir Jaf'ar, marks the beginning of modern Calcutta. The old fort was turned into a customhouse and, under the direction of Lord Clive, a new military post was started a short distance down the river which was finally completed in 1773 at a cost of two million sterling. The city now began to move east, many fine houses and gardens being built in the suburbs. The year the fort was completed Calcutta was made the head presidency of British India and the official residence of its governor-general and council.

The amazing metamorphosis of Calcutta into an Anglo-Indian metropolis was an unfailing source of wonder to native spectators. Of its manifold interest a Hindu writes:

"Calcutta is a wonderful city, in the country of Bang,
It is a specimen of both China and Farang.
Its buildings are heart-attracting and delightful,
Their heads are exalted to the height of the sky.
The decorations executed in them by skilful persons
Exhibit a variety of good colours and beautiful drawings
From the beauty of the works of the European artists
The senses of the spectator are overpowered.
The hat-wearing Europeans who dwell in them
All speak the truth and have good dispositions.
As are the dwellings, so are their occupants.
How can I sufficiently indite their praises?"

Clive, Pondicherry, and Plassey

MORE THAN FIFTY YEARS after the founding of Calcutta and nearly one hundred years after the acquisition of Bombay by the East India Company, the scene of its major activities shifted suddenly to the southeast coast of India, where there now took place a struggle for supremacy between two great commercial groups, the powerful East India companies of France and England. The stage on which this combat was set was the long strip of coastal land along which English, French, and Dutch factories were situated, which bends gently from Cape Comorin on the south to the mouth of the Ganges on the northeast.

This area, politically speaking, has four major divisions. The most southerly is the area known as the Carnatic, ruled by the nawab who resides at his capital, Arcot, within whose territory were the English forts of St. David and St. George, and the French colony at Pondicherry. Directly above the Carnatic lie what are known as the Northern Circars, Orissa, and above them on the north the extraordinarily rich province of Bengal. The coastal land lying between Cape Calimere and the mouth of the Kistna River, where many of the early factories were situated, is known as the Coromandel Coast, a term derived from Chola-mandal, meaning mandal, or region, of the ancient dynasty of Chola.

This Coromandel Coast was the area in which the English and French fought bitterly for supremacy in India, while the great Anglo-French war of the Austrian succession was being fought in Europe. And twice within the century, the destiny of British India was decided, not at home, but primarily on the battlefields of Europe.

In this great war France had no real issue at stake, but had merely fallen into a trap laid for her in Europe to divert her from

population of some 40,000 natives and whites had congregated. Martin's Pondicherry, of which he was made president, now became the center of French activities in India.

The death, in 1706, of Martin, a man of rare force, ability, and acumen, was a heavy loss to Pondicherry; and the expiration a few years later of the charter of the French company behind it was an even more serious blow to the young colony. Pondicherry's trade, commerce, and credit now declined; after a series of vicissitudes it passed into the hands of private traders. These were years of panic in France precipitated by the financial manipulations of John Law, an economic chaos into which the now almost defunct *Compagnie des Indes* was drawn. From this crisis it emerged, finally, in a new guise, and was now known as *La Compagnie Perpetuel des Indes*.

Two Frenchmen, with whom the destinies of the French in India were to be closely associated, reached Pondicherry at this time. One of them was a young naval captain of St. Malo, Bertrand François Maké de la Bourdonnais; the other was Joseph François Dupleix, whose father was a director in the French company. Dupleix devoted his large private fortune to developing Indo-French commerce, especially at Chandernagore, near Calcutta, where the commercial relations he established with China, Mocha, and Jedda made this little French center one of the most flourishing settlements in all Bengal.

While Dupleix was creating his French settlement, in the south at Pondicherry the governors sent out from France, especially Benoit Dumas, whose wisdom, prudence, and restraint became proverbial throughout the Far East, were also creating a prosperous city. Governor Dumas during his regime won the friendship of Dost Ali, ruler of the Carnatic, and through this friendship secured many invaluable privileges. Later, in return for having protected Dost Ali's widow at the time of the great Maratha raid in 1739, Dumas was awarded certain lands and revenues near Pondicherry, the armor of the deceased Dost Ali, who had been killed while defending his territory, and the rank of nawab.

The Carnatic had not fully recovered from the political rivalry

of Dost Ali's nearest heirs when Dupleix was appointed governor of Pondicherry. Two years later, in 1743, the alarming news that war was imminent in Europe reached the French colony at Pondicherry. The ships carrying it also brought dispatches to Dupleix ordering him to reduce expenses to a minimum, stop work at once on fortifications, and curtail trade with France. But war had already broken out in Europe by the time the news reached the coast; already the governor of the Isle of France, La Bourdonnais, at the head of a French fleet, had sailed for India, to protect Pondicherry, with its garrison of only five hundred soldiers, in the event of its attack by English forces. La Bourdonnais met the English squadron that had been ordered to India under Commodore Barnet, off Negapatam, repulsed them, and rescued Pondicherry.

Anchoring off Pondicherry in July, 1746, with a squadron of eight ships, La Bourdonnais and Dupleix now planned a joint attack on the small English factory at Fort St. George, which on September 21, 1746, fell into the hands of the combined French forces whose leaders then disagreed as to terms of peace. So long as Madras was in French hands, the English factors on the coast remained at Fort St. David, a small town 12 miles south of Pondicherry. Meanwhile, the French colony at Pondicherry resisted the combined efforts of Admiral Edward Boscawen and Major Stringer Lawrence to capture their settlement. The English factors returned to Madras in 1748 when by the terms of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, Fort St. George was returned to the East India Company.

The treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle marked a new era in Anglo-French political relations in India. By this time European militarism had infected the foreign settlements in the Far East with its unrest; native rulers realized for the first time the power and force of European arms on land and sea; and the natives, with political and territorial aspirations, began to enlist by bribes, gifts, and promises the aid of these powerful foreign armies.

French successes in India, the prestige of French arms among native rulers, and the political and commercial advantages readily secured in India aroused in the mind of Dupleix dreams of a vast French empire in Asia. In an effort to accomplish his end Dupleix

turned to diplomacy, a role in which he excelled, and which also revealed his rare knowledge of Indian psychology. Taking advantage of a dispute over the succession that arose between the reigning families of Hyderabad and Arcot, he backed candidates of his own selection for both thrones.

In the dispute over the throne of Arcot, the country in which both Pondicherry and Madras were situated, a young English officer, Robert Clive, who was stationed at the time at Fort St. David, supported a rival candidate, Mohammed Ali. In an attempt to secure Arcot for his own candidate, young Clive led the attack in person, stormed the capital, and placed Mohammed Ali on the throne. France, having thus lost prestige in the province of Arcot, soon regained some of her lost control by seizing the coastal area north of Arcot, called the Northern Circars.

The coast enjoyed only a brief respite from its difficulties; on May 17, 1756, a second French-English war broke out that extended, like the first, to the foreign settlements in India. This new war afforded France an opportunity to attempt to restore her financial and commercial interests on the French coast, and if possible expel the English from southern India, for they were so involved with Siraj-ud-daula in Bengal that they had left Madras without adequate garrison.

In April, Count Lally, who had been sent out from Europe for this purpose, reached Pondicherry and landed his men, capturing the neighboring English garrison at Fort St. David. The siege of Madras followed, during which, fortunately for the English, funds and powder ran low, and a serious mutiny occurred among Lally's European soldiers. Even before English troops came to the rescue of besieged Madras, Clive was predicting the end of the French regime in the south and in a letter in January, 1759, to Pitt in England, he remarks, "Notwithstanding the extraordinary effort made by the French in sending out M. Lally with a considerable force, the last year, I am confident before the end of this they will be near their last gasp in the Carnatic, unless some very unforeseen events interpose in their favor." Clive's prophecy was justified, for in January, 1760, the French under Bussy were defeated at Wand-

wash by English forces led by Eyre Coote, and a year later forced out of Pondicherry and southern India.

Meanwhile, the English star in India was steadily rising under the leadership of Clive. Robert Clive, whose meteoric career in India raised him to the peerage, was born on September 29, 1725, in Shropshire, England. His boyhood was passed in his uncle's home, which he left in 1743 to become a writer in the East India Company. At Madras, where he was first stationed, Clive had access to the library of the governor of Madras, and leisure to study, an opportunity he turned to good advantage. After escaping during the war with France to Fort St. David in 1747, and after winning an ensign's commission in the army, he fought brilliantly under Boscawen before Pondicherry, was promoted to a captaincy, and proved a brilliant leader in the assault on Arcot.

Not long after the latter victory, in 1753 Captain Clive left Madras for England. Upon reaching London the directors of the East India Company, much to his surprise, voted him a sword set with diamonds for his service on the Coromandel Coast. He was also appointed governor of Fort St. David, with a provisional appointment to Madras. During his visit to England, Clive learned that a treaty of peace had been signed on December 31, 1754, between France and England, in which the Company retained its possessions on the Coromandel Coast, and both countries agreed not to lend military support to native princes.

After a pleasant visit in England, in 1755 Clive, who was now a lieutenant colonel in His Majesty's army, left London for Bombay where he joined Watson in a successful assault on the stronghold of the aggressive pirate, Angria. Upon reaching Fort St. David, Clive entered upon his duties of deputy-governor, a task from which, two months later, he was hastily called to assume command of an expedition to Bengal where the English were in considerable danger, hostilities which might involve native rulers being about to break out again between France and England.

The situation in Bengal, where Clive was now called to protect the English factories, had arisen, as it so often did in India, from disputes over the succession to the throne. The countries involved

at this time were Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa, a trio of rich provinces in northern India, lying near the Ganges and Brahmaputra rivers, governed by native viceroys or nawabs, appointed by the great mogul at Delhi.

All important official positions in these provinces were held by the Mogul ruling clan, who looked down on the milder-mannered Hindu class, who were the country's merchants and traders. The Hindu class, rather than the Mogul, was the group with whom the British at Calcutta, the French at Chandernagore, and the Dutch at Chinsurah came into daily contact.

In 1740 the hereditary succession to the throne of Bengal was broken by a usurper, Ali Wardi Khan, who, having come into power, ruled the land with an iron hand. Aware of how English and French wars in the south had affected Arcot and the Northern Circars, Ali Wardi Khan's policy was to check foreign expansion in his land. But English traders living along the Hugli, indignant at the restrictions he placed upon them, attempted to devise ways and means to cause his downfall. To what extent Ali Wardi Khan was disliked along the Hugli appears in a letter, written by Robert Orme, a young writer stationed at Calcutta, to Clive in which he says: "The Nabob is coming down with all His Excellency's cannon to Hugli; and with an intent to bully all the settlements out of a large sum of money; Clive, 'twould be a good deed to swinge the old dog. I don't speak at random when I say that the Company must think seriously of it, or 'twill not be worth their while to trade in Bengal."

Orme's prophecy was soon fulfilled. In 1756, when the English arch-enemy, the bull-headed "old dog" Ali Wardi Khan, died, his grandson Siraj-ud-daula, a dissipated, indolent, and ill-tempered prince, came to the Bengal throne. This new ruler made no attempt to disguise his unfriendliness toward the English factors, although his relations with the French and Dutch traders along the Hugli, the Danes at Serampore, and the Portuguese at Bandel were amicable enough.

The leading English settlement in Bengal at this time was the old trading post of Calcutta, or Fort William, a quadrangular enclo-

sure protected by a few guns, situated where the Hugli bends to form a crescent. Near the fort stood White Town with its elaborate European houses surrounded by large gardens enclosed by walls where the elite of Calcutta congregated, and from whose festivities Indian officials were barred. One cause, if rumors are to be believed, of Siraj-ud-daula's anti-English feeling, was because as a native he had been excluded from these English gatherings. Another grievance was the fact that the English factors had not given him lavish presents such as he had received from the French traders.

In 1756, Fort William had a garrison of some 250 European officers and soldiers whose task was not only to protect the fort and the up-country factories, but also to convoy treasure from port to port.

Whatever causes may have aggravated his animosity, officially Siraj-ud-daula complained that the English had illegally fortified Calcutta, had abused trade privileges, and had refused to deliver up to him for punishment natives guilty of misconduct. For these causes the English, he said, should be forced to leave Bengal. The nawab's first move was to send troops to surround the English factory at Kasimbazar and occupy the native fort of Muckwa Tanna below Calcutta to cut off all means of retreat and prevent reinforcements from being sent to Fort William up the river. At Kasimbazar, where the English factory was in charge of fifty young Englishmen under William Watts, Siraj-ud-daula asked this leader to sign a declaration that the English would demolish their fortifications at Calcutta. Watts, lacking the proper authority, declined to sign such a paper and was made prisoner.

Trivial as the Kasimbazar incident appeared on the surface, yet it led to events of international importance. On June 5, in the midst of the hot season, Siraj-ud-daula, with 30,000 men, 150 elephants, oxen, guns, and Portuguese gunners, began a march of 160 miles from Kasimbazar to Calcutta. To increase his already large force he appealed to the Dutch and French living in Bengal to join him, offering as a reward the ownership of Calcutta. While Siraj-ud-daula was en route to Calcutta, word of the Kasimbazar incident reached Fort

William, where preparations were hastily made to withstand a siege, and an appeal for reinforcements sent to Madras.

After a swift march on Calcutta, eleven days later, on June 16, 1756, Siraj-ud-daula opened fire on the fort. From the first the English recognized the impossibility of withstanding the nawab's large army and many escaped under cover of darkness to the four British ships anchored up the Hugli. Four days later when the Moguls were swarming through the town and all hopes of holding out were abandoned by the few English inside, John Holwell raised the flag of truce over Fort William. Siraj-ud-daula and his victorious forces then entered the fort and began to loot and strip the Europeans of their valuables, while Mohammedan muezzins chanted hymns of praise to Allah.

In the mad riot that followed, several drunken European soldiers began to attack the natives, who called on the nawab to protect them. Turning to the Englishmen, the nawab asked how Europeans treated soldiers guilty of such misconduct. Siraj-ud-daula was told that they were put in the "Black Hole." The nawab at once ordered every European in the fort placed in the fort jail, or Black Hole, a room only 18 feet square lighted by two small windows. Of the 146 men and women who were left throughout a muggy June night in this cramped room, 123 died of suffocation, delirium, or thirst. The twenty-three who were still alive the next morning were then forced to march to the nawab's fort at Murshidabad. The English warehouses and government buildings were now destroyed, the erection of a mosque begun, a Mogul governor appointed, and the town renamed *Alimagar*. "A pair of slippers," Siraj-ud-daula boasted after his victory, "is all that is needed to govern Englishmen."

He was to learn otherwise. The news of the Black Hole murder shocked the entire English-speaking world. When rumors of the atrocity reached Madras, a meeting of the general council was hastily called, at which Clive volunteered to go immediately to the relief of the English in Bengal. On October 16, Admiral Charles Watson, Sir George Pocock, and Captain Robert Clive left Madras with five of the king's ships carrying 900 Europeans and 1,500 sepoys, which

were followed soon after by one of the East India Company's vessels.

On January 2 the troops landed, marched on Calcutta, and recaptured the city. Watson was in command of the king's naval forces and Clive of the Company's land troops, and after the nawab capitulated a misunderstanding arose between these two leaders over their respective powers, Watson representing the king and Clive the Company's interests. Finally, at Clive's insistence, the fort was delivered by Watson to the representatives of the East India Company. Moving up the river, the English forces now attacked the nawab's fort at Hugli, destroying it and the granary. After witnessing this exhibition of English military strength, the nawab decided to make peace with his adversaries.

Clive's letter of February 23 to his father in England gives a terse account of the victory. "The nabob with 20,000 horse and 30,000 foot," he writes, "appeared in sight of our camp at the distance of about a mile and a half and encamped near Calcutta Town. The situation obliged me to attack him, which I did at daybreak in the morning. Our success was very great, being in his camp upwards of two hours, in which time we killed 1,300 men and between five and six hundred horse with four elephants. The blow has obliged the nabob to decamp and to conclude a peace very honorable and advantageous to the Company's affairs, by which means they have a more promising prospect than ever. The nabob sent me a jewel, Moorish dress, and an elephant—the same to the admiral."

The victory of the English forces was conceded by the nawab in the treaty, mentioned in Clive's letter, signed on February 9, 1757, whereby all privileges granted by the emperor at Delhi were confirmed; the Company's properties were restored; indemnities were paid; Calcutta was to be fortified as the English desired; the right of coinage was granted to the British; their goods were to be shipped free of duty through Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa; and gifts to the value of many lacs of rupees were to be presented to Clive.

The three military leaders, Clive, Watson, and Pocock, now turned their attention to one of the danger spots in Bengal, the

French colony founded by Dupleix at Chandernagore, whose members, the English had been informed, Siraj-ud-daula was attempting to rally to his colors. War in Europe made this an added danger to English colonial interests, and Clive's decision to attack Chandernagore was made despite the opposition of the Madras council who sent letters demanding his return to the south, and the refusal of the English admiral, Watson, to assist in the attack. On March 12 Clive led the English army against the French fort, which capitulated eleven days later.

How important the capture of Chandernagore was regarded in English financial circles is shown by the Company's London East India stock which rose 12 per cent on the exchange. In India its capture led to the union of French and Indian forces under Siraj-ud-daula, whose smoldering animosity toward the English was increasing daily, and who made only sporadic attempts to fulfill his treaty obligations.

In the annals of the military events of this period there are strong indications of some duplicity on the part of Clive, whose plans were made without consulting his superiors. But whatever his acts, he attempted at all times, even after the fall of Chandernagore, to keep on friendly terms with the ruler of Bengal, on whose favors the English depended for the continuance of their commerce.

That Clive even made consistent efforts to placate the nawab is apparent from the following letter, dated April 10, 1757, in which he says: "I now call upon Your Excellency in the name of God and His Prophet to fulfil the articles, and I further call upon Your Excellency in the most sincere manner to put an entire confidence in the English, and to believe that they will never forsake you. Things are now come to such a pass that the French must be expelled. Your Province, or the English, can never be assured of your friendship. I conclude this letter with declaring before God and His Prophet Jesus, that if you will comply with the contents of this letter and be a true friend to the English, that I will in all respects act conformable to your wish and join you against all your enemies."

When this appeal failed to touch the nawab, before proceeding

to further hostilities, again on May 4, Clive attempted to make friendly overtures to the treacherous and ill-tempered ruler. On that date he wrote: "I almost despair of enjoying your Excellency's friendship while you listen to the idle stories and falsities of men of mean extraction. For my own part I despise them, being persuaded that for the sake of a few rupees, they will say whatever they are bid. If a man of family and good name was near me, you then would soon be convinced of the English truth and justice."

Although Clive's latest overtures were disregarded, yet he made one final attempt to adjust the unsettled state of affairs in Bengal without war. Reminding the nawab of his French affiliations, he reproached him for nonfulfilment of treaty obligations, and his unjust treatment of the English in Bengal. He concluded the letter by saying that he had decided to submit the question of whether or not the English or Siraj-ud-daula had failed in their treaty obligations to Mir Ja'far and other prominent members in Bengal.

That letter was an alarming one, for the nawab was aware that Mir Ja'far, although ostensibly his friend, might not be averse to enlisting the support of the English troops to usurp the Bengal throne. Siraj-ud-daula, convinced that such a crisis might arise, now ordered his army to advance to meet the English forces 70 miles northwest of Calcutta, at a town called Plassey.

Meanwhile, Clive entered into a secret agreement with Mir Ja'far to desert the nawab, join the English forces, and, with their support, gain control of Bengal. In return for this assurance Mir Ja'far promised to reward the English Company with certain concessions and gifts of money. Clive seems to have been fully aware of the precariousness of his position, to have known that with only 3,000 men, more than two-thirds of whom were sepoys, eight six-pounders, and one howitzer he would have to face 50,000 highly trained Mogul troops. He knew, too, that the torrential rains of the hot season were about to fall; that supplies of all kinds were low. Whether he could rely on the promise of Mir Ja'far to desert the nawab, Clive did not know.

Of his uncertainty as to the outcome he wrote four days before the great battle from his camp at Cutwa to the council at Calcutta:

"I feel the greatest anxiety at the little intelligence I receive from Mir Ja'far, and if he is not treacherous, his sang-froid, or want of strength, will, I fear, upset the expedition. I am trying a last effort, by means of a Brahmin, to prevail upon him to march out and join us."

When the troops assembled for battle, Mir Ja'far marched out with the nawab's army, ostensibly to oppose the English, whom he had secretly agreed to join after the battle started.

The battle of Plassey, one of the decisive engagements in English history, began at daybreak on June 23, 1757, with the Mogul-French forces lined up against Clive and the English troops who were hidden in a large grove of mango trees. Clive personally directed the movements of his troops during the battle from the roof of a small hunting-box nearby. Later in the day during a heavy rain, the nawab's powder was seriously damaged, and one of his leading officers killed. The remaining generals, secret allies of the English, maneuvered their troops to the nawab's disadvantage, then urged him to retire behind the lines. This treachery turned the tide in favor of the English forces, and by five o'clock that night the battle had been won. Notwithstanding the importance of the engagement, only seven Englishmen and sixteen natives had been killed, and a small number wounded.

The English victory of Plassey was of inestimable importance in the history both of England and of India. With the defeat of Siraj-ud-daula, the English ally, Mir Ja'far, was placed on the Bengal throne, the French were forced out of Bengal, and immense concessions were acquired by Clive for the East India Company.

Flushed with victory, the new viceroy, Mir Ja'far, now signed an agreement on July 27 with Clive, which included: the confirmation to the English of all grants previously made by his predecessor; a defensive alliance with England; the grant to England of all French goods and factories in Bengal; a guarantee that French residents would not be allowed in Bengal; a promise of large sums of money to various officers as well as the East India Company; and finally the princely gift of the zemindar, or landholder's rights, to 882 square miles of land near Calcutta. English rights to these munifi-

cent concessions in Bengal were definitely assured when the emperor at Delhi officially confirmed Mir Ja'far's title of governor. Clive was also granted 280,000 rupees and a military fief, called Clive's Jagir, that carried a large annual income—later the source of endless controversy.

Meanwhile, in 1758, Clive was appointed governor of the East India Company in Bengal. At Fort William the Company's affairs at this time were directed by a general council, headed by Henry Vansittart. Warren Hastings, subsequently governor of India, was a member of this same group. In the rehabilitation of Calcutta, and the administration of the vast new holdings acquired as an aftermath of Plassey, many weighty and important problems confronted the council. One of them was how to check the large amount of graft received by members of the East India Company, which had grown by leaps and bounds after large cash rewards had been distributed to officers who had won the war. Minor officials of the East India Company, as a result, were now using every means within their power to increase, by graft, bribes, or illicit trading, their inadequate salaries.

Clive realized that the situation was a difficult one for the East India Company to handle. The lands and revenues acquired since the war were far too great to be managed efficiently by representatives of the Company in India. The Company, Clive knew, was undermanned, underarmed, and untrained to introduce the administrative reforms so vital to the successful handling of the vast Bengal revenues it now controlled. The management of the Bengal revenue, he felt, should be not in the hands of the Company, but in those of the crown, backed, protected, and enforced by the king's troops.

In a letter of January 7, 1759, Clive placed the situation before William Pitt, His Majesty's secretary of state for England. Clive at this time was definitely distressed over the situation in Bengal; Mir Ja'far was in financial difficulties; moreover, he disliked the superior attitude of the English; and Clive himself was perplexed over the contradictory orders relating to Bengal that were sent out from England. The English, Clive wrote, should have a large military

force—at least 2,000 Europeans—for the Moguls were never grateful and never to be trusted. The ability of the East India Company to support troops in Bengal, he wrote Pitt, was a matter of uncertainty; and he wondered "whether it would be worthy of the Government's taking it into hand." He then continued, "Now I leave you to judge, whether an income yearly of two millions sterling, with the possession of three provinces abounding in the most valuable products of nature and of art, be an object deserving the public attention, which would prove a source of immense wealth to the kingdom." Notwithstanding, Pitt declined to interfere in the affairs of the Company, which continued to remain the head, not only of vast commercial interests, but the dictator, for some time to come, of political, economic, and foreign policies in India.

Two years after he had been appointed governor Clive, whose health was seriously undermined as the result of many years spent in India, resigned his position as governor. On February 5, 1760, he left Fort William, reaching London in the autumn. As he had no intention of returning to India, the former governor took an active part in English political life, especially in matters pertaining to Bengal and the East India Company.

In England Clive was regarded as the hero of the hour. The king and his ministers turned out to welcome him; the court of directors erected a statue of him in front of India House; a medal was struck showing Clive holding the British standard in one hand, and with the other bestowing the insignia of rulership on Mir Ja'far; in 1762 he was raised to the Irish peerage, with the title of Baron Clive of Plassey; and, in 1764, he was made Knight of the Bath...

Clive's position in England during these years was an enviable one. With his wife—he had married Margaret Maskelyne—he was dined and feted throughout England. He was welcomed in court circles; and was soon a favorite with the king, to whom he made gifts of rare and unusual "Indian curiosities." Clive spared no pains to secure these choice gifts, and in a letter written from London on December 17, 1762, to Governor Vansittart, his successor in Bengal, he says: "I must again repeat my desire of having a large ele-

phant embarked for His Majesty, if the thing be practicable; and if you can send me any curiosities, such as antelopes, hogs, deer, or lynxes, I shall be much obliged to you."

The income which enabled him to take his place in London society, derived from his Indian properties, was at this time immense. He was able to purchase a fine home, make handsome gifts to friends and relatives, and buy large blocks of East India Company stock which gave him heavy voting privileges.

In 1764 Lord Clive was elected by the East India Company to a new post created in his honor, that of governor and commander-in-chief of Bengal. It was somewhat of a disappointment, for he had hoped to be appointed governor-general of all India, and to have the three presidencies consolidated under him. The affairs of the East India Company in India at the time of his appointment were on so unsound a basis, that the immediate presence of Clive in India seemed imperative. The following year he returned to the Far East where for two years he was to serve for a second term as governor.

Upon reaching Bengal in May, 1765, Clive found the Company's affairs in a condition bordering on chaotic. In a letter dated September 30, 1765, he wrote to the London office: "At the time of my arrival I saw nothing that bore the form or appearance of government. The lowest servant feels as important as the governor." In Clive's absence, during Vansittart's rule, a spirit of insubordination to the new regime had developed and on every hand the Company's servants were participating in the lucrative salt, betel nut, and tobacco monopolies of Bengal.

In Clive's absence a new nawab, Mir Kasim, had been made viceroy of Bengal in place of Mir Ja'far and a bitter dispute over trade privileges and freedom from duties claimed by the English in his territory had risen. At Patna disagreements between William Ellis, head of the English factory, and Mir Kasim over the salt tax reached such a peak that on June 23, 1763, the nawab had called out his own troops and attempted to persuade the Company's sepoy regiments to mutiny.

The diary of William Anderson, English surgeon at Patna, tells in what desperate straits the English now found themselves, how

they moved men and guns to the roof of the factory from where they fired on the disloyal sepoys plundering below. Their forces consisted, all told, of 150 Europeans and 2,200 sepoy troops, of whose loyalty they were in doubt. After hours of skirmishing under cover of darkness, the English decided to load their wounded, treasure, guns, and supplies on river boats and attempt to escape. The thirty boats in which they left were overtaken by sepoys, however, and the English forced to return to Patna and surrender.

Several months of war followed, during which Major Adams at the head of 5,000 troops matched forces with Mir Kasim's 20,000 men, and attacked his capital of Mongir. Routed from his stronghold, Mir Kasim fled to Patna where, on October 5, he murdered Mr. Ellis and forty-eight soldiers. The surgeon, William Anderson, and forty more Englishmen met the same fate a day later. Then the nawab fled to Oudh, where he enlisted the support of its ruler against the English. The war was now carried by the English to the borders of Oudh, where the campaign was interrupted by mutiny in their own ranks. The prompt and energetic measures adopted at this crisis by Major Hector Munro, who executed twenty-five mutineers by blowing them from his guns, broke the spirit of the mutineers and enabled the English to resume war in Oudh. After the capture by the English of the mogul's fortress at Allahabad a treaty was concluded in August, 1765, and terms of peace arranged.

Lord Clive's policy as an aftermath of the mutiny was to limit the Company's conquests to Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa, and make Oudh a buffer state between Bengal and the ancient Mogul capital at Delhi. By so doing he hoped to keep the Company out of war, and enable it to continue as a mercantile organization. To further this policy Clive placed on the Bengal throne his former ally, Mir Ja'far, whom he could control, hopping in this way to restore peace in the Ganges Valley.

The military achievements of Lord Clive would have been ineffectual without the series of striking reforms he now inaugurated, reforms that stabilized Bengal. With the directness and thoroughness that characterized all his activities, the governor abolished private trade and refused to allow members of the Com-

pany to accept gifts from natives. To compensate to some extent for these drastic measures, Lord Clive raised the salaries of the Company's men, using the profits of the salt monopoly for this purpose. These reforms were not accomplished without some outward signs of dissatisfaction at Fort William where a group of officers formed a plot to mutiny by way of protest to Clive's stringent regulations. By bringing the ringleaders to trial the governor soon ended the revolt.

✓ The major reform of Lord Clive's second governorship was not the abolition of graft, but the division of authority in Bengal. To insure peace Clive took over from the nawab on behalf of the Company full responsibility for the military defense and management of the Bengal revenue, allowing the ruler 53 lacs of rupees annually. This was an important step, for from the diwanni, or right to collect revenues, in Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa, the Company's revenue at this time reached £2,000,000 annually. By this economic reform, the Company now became the military and fiscal head of these three provinces, while the nawab retained full control of the government. The ratification of this agreement by the emperor of Delhi is one of the most important events in the history of India, for it opened the door to British dominion in India.

Twenty-two months of war and civil reform in Bengal had proved a heavy drain on the health of Lord Clive. In February, 1767, he left the shores of India for the last time, taking with him the legacy of £70,000 left him by his old friend and ally Mir Ja'far, who had in the meantime died—a fund which he devoted to the relief of disabled soldiers.

The last years in England of this great soldier and statesman were embittered by public condemnation of his life work. It was at this time that the press, Parliament, and enemies in the ranks of the East India Company itself raised embarrassing questions about Clive's activities in India, questions about the large sums he had received from Mir Ja'far which had made him one of the wealthiest men in England, questions about his military victories.

Finally a parliamentary inquiry about Lord Clive's conduct in India was made and although the governor was not fully absolved

from blame, yet a resolution was passed by the House of Commons "that Lord Clive had rendered great and meritorious services to his country."

But the animosity displayed toward him, the bitter spirit behind the charges, the galling publicity of the parliamentary investigation proved too much for Lord Clive, whose health, even at the height of his Indian campaigns, had been far from robust. Ill and discouraged over the attitude of the public, the hostility and treachery of men in high places, on November 22, 1774, he took his life at his home in Berkeley Square.

CHAPTER XIX

Hastings: Savior of Bengal

IN 1772 THERE WAS APPOINTED to the governorship of Bengal a man whose career ranks in importance with that of Lord Clive, a man who created, amalgamated, and unified the newly born British empire in India—Warren Hastings. By building a firm superstructure on the foundations laid a decade earlier by the military leader, Clive, Hastings conserved the vast properties of the East India Company at a time when India was beset by wars and famine, civil, financial, and judicial malpractices, and major complications that arose both within and on the frontiers of the Bengal, Madras, and Bombay presidencies.

The appointment of Hastings to Bengal met with approval in India. Of the English race as a whole a native historian writes at this time: "It is said that the English are so just and honest that they do not interfere with the wealth of any rich men, bankers, merchants, and other people who reside in their cities, but on the contrary, they are very kind to those who are not wealthy. But from those who are powerful they manage to obtain money by their wisdom and adroitness, and even by force if necessary, but they are not oppressive and never trouble poor people. They are a wonderful nation, endowed with equity and justice. May they be always happy, and continue to administer justice."

Fortunately Warren Hastings by heredity, background, and training was well equipped to cope with the exacting life of a civilian in the service of the East India Company in India. Born on December 6, 1732, the son of Pynaston and Hester Hastings, probably at Church Hill in Oxfordshire, the loss of his mother a few days after his birth and the subsequent disappearance of his father relegated

him to the care of his grandfather, an erudite but impoverished curate who held the appointment to Daylesford and later to the Churchhill parish. At the local charity school at which the lad received his first schooling it was said of him, "Warren aye took his learning kindly." This same zeal for study displayed at a tender age seems to have been characteristic as well of Hastings' school days at Westminster, where he was enrolled with the assistance of his uncle, Howard Hastings, and where for three years he won the honor known as king's scholar.

After Warren Hastings had decided to pursue at further length the classical studies for which he showed such a marked aptitude, his uncle died, leaving him to the guardianship of one of his friends, Mr. Chiswick, who was a man of some standing with the East India Company.

Through Mr. Chiswick's influence, Warren now entered the employ of the Company, and after brief preliminary training in the rudiments of accounting, in January, 1750, the young student, who was only seventeen, left London for Bengal.

On October 8, 1750, Hastings reached Calcutta, where he was made an assistant in the secretary's office. Three years later he was moved to the Company's factory at Kasimbazar, where, after two years' faithful service, he became a member of the council, an office of responsibility and trust. In 1756, while Hastings was still at Kasimbazar, the aged nawab of Bengal and staunch friend of the Company, Ali Wardi Khan, died. After a period of dissension over the succession, his grandson, Siraj-ud-daulah, seized the throne of Bengal.

During the clash that followed between Clive and this aggressive usurper, the English factory at Kasimbazar was attacked and forced to surrender, Hastings and his friends being taken prisoner at this time by Siraj-ud-daulah, and sent to Murshidabad. From there Hastings escaped to Fulta, down the river from Calcutta, where the English refugees had congregated, and where he was instrumental in assisting them to procure supplies. At Fulta he also met the widow of Captain Campbell, whom he courted and later married. Of their early union there is little record, except that their

two children lived only a short time and that Mrs. Hastings died a few years later at Kasimbazar, where Hastings was again stationed after the revolt.

While at Kasimbazar, Hastings received the appointment of resident to the nawab's court at Murshidabad, a post from where he carried on a flourishing correspondence with Clive, still at his headquarters at Calcutta. Many of these delightful letters, most of them filled with the pressing diplomatic negotiations with which the Company was constantly involved, have been saved, and disclose the sound judgment, courage, and integrity of this young servant of the Company on whose opinions and conduct Clive even at that time placed so much weight.

Hastings appears to have handled his residency at Murshidabad with signal success, for in 1671 he was appointed to the council at Calcutta—a much-coveted and welcome honor. By the time Hastings reached his new post, Clive was on his way home to England, leaving in his place a new governor, Henry Vansittart, under whose weak control affairs in Bengal rapidly reached a crisis. The Company's revenues, long past due, could not be collected; the nawab constantly harassed Vansittart with demands to borrow money; and, in revenge at his refusal, finally threw open the inland trade of Bengal to all nations.

More complications arose at this time by the discovery—as the result of investigations carried on by Hastings—that the titles to the vast territories ceded to the Company by Mir Ja'far were not valid. In an effort to adjust these difficulties in April, 1762, Hastings was sent to Patna to interview the nawab, whose animosity had been strengthened by difficulties he had had with the local agent, Mr. Ellis. There Hastings was able to arrange terms with the nawab, and consummate a series of agreements highly favorable to English trade.

These agreements, much to the chagrin of Hastings, were rescinded by the Calcutta council, which accused him of showing favoritism to the nawab. This repudiation also incensed the nawab, who now denounced Hastings as a traitor. The affair ended in a violent quarrel between Hastings and Batson, a member of the

Calcutta council, a brawl during which Hastings was struck by the irate councilor.

At Patna, meanwhile, Ellis and his fellow-factors, at the instigation of the outraged native ruler, were murdered. This led to a brief war, the capture of Patna by English forces, the deposition and exile of the nawab, and the restoration of Mir. Ja'far to the throne of Bengal.

After fourteen years in India, in the late fall of 1764 Hastings sailed on the *Medway* for a holiday in England. Back in London his interest in East India problems continued to be acute. Recognizing the need for a wider knowledge of the Persian language among Englishmen sent to India, he attempted to establish a Persian professorship at Oxford. Aware, on the other hand, of the lack of knowledge of India affairs in general, Hastings formulated at this time a plan to promote a sounder interracial understanding, which was later incorporated in the East India College opened at Haileybury.

In England Hastings was called upon to testify before a parliamentary committee on behalf of the Company, and his profound knowledge of conditions in India displayed at this time made a lasting impression on the directors of the Company in London. This led to the following appointment in 1769 of Hastings to the council at Madras:

"Mr. Warren Hastings, a gentleman who has served us many years upon the Bengal establishment with great ability and unblemished character, offering himself to be employed again in our service, we have, from a consideration of his just merits and general knowledge of the Company's affairs, been induced to appoint him one of the members of our Council at the Madras Presidency."

Having lost or spent the slender fortune he had brought with him from Bengal to England, the new appointee to Madras was so short of funds that he was forced to borrow money for his passage to India. En route to Madras, Hastings met the Baroness von Imhoff and her artist husband. A shipboard romance developed and after the Baroness secured a divorce, she married Hastings.

So far Hastings' India experiences had been primarily in the nature of preparation for the major event of his career—the appointment, in December, 1771, to the governorship of Bengal. In this capacity Hastings was to face during the next thirteen years one of the most dangerous periods in the history of India. Now, for the first time, there began that keen contest for supremacy between the English and native military leaders that was destined to decide who was to control India; for the first time Parliament became a dangerous factor in the control of the East India Company; for the first time the Company emerged from the status of a group of peaceful traders to that of a great administrative power, controlling vast revenues, maintaining a large army, waging war, making peace, and directing the fate of millions of natives.

The seat of this broad panorama of interests was old Fort William, or Calcutta, in Bengal, now the headquarters of Governor Hastings, which he reached in February, 1772. [The Company had sent Hastings to Bengal on a difficult task—to revise the old methods of dual administration established by Lord Clive, and to introduce a new and efficient form of government.

At this time the most pressing problem faced by the Company was the financial situation in Bengal. At home the Company was forced to borrow money to operate; in Bengal the debt had risen in a few years from £600,000 to three times that figure. Widespread famine, sickness, and poverty among Bengal workers impaired the returns from the farms; native revenue collectors were enriching themselves at the expense of the Company, and national bankruptcy seemed inevitable. Robbers were pillaging the countryside unchecked; justice was lax; and the Company's servants careless, inefficient, and indifferent.

Bengal, Hastings realized upon his arrival, needed a triple series of drastic reforms: reforms in handling revenue; reforms in administering justice; reforms in checking the private trade and illicit dealings of the English factors in India. He plunged immediately into the strenuous task of introducing the administrative framework to bring them about. The Company's Bengal revenue came, at this time, from three sources: from Burdwan, Midnapur,

and Chittagong acquired in 1760 free of all taxes; from the twenty-four pargannas, or districts, of Calcutta, won in 1757 and held with zemindar title, upon payment of an annual revenue to the nawab; and from Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa, granted in 1765, in which the Company held the diwanni, or right to collect all revenue. For this latter privilege the mogul at Delhi was paid twenty-six and the nawab of Bengal thirty-two lacs of rupees annually, the English retaining the balance.

† Much of the difficulty of collecting revenue had arisen from the corrupt ways of the head revenue officers, Mohammed Reza Khan, of Bengal, and Rajah Shitab Rai of Bihar, whose ill treatment of the natives was a matter of serious concern to the Company, which ordered their arrest. The former, Mohammed Reza Khan, was charged with holding a monopoly on rice at the time of the famine, embezzlement of money, irregular accounts, and complicity with the Moguls and Marathas. Charges were also brought against the head collector of Bihar. Both revenue officers were brought to trial at Calcutta, acquitted for diplomatic reasons, and English collectors installed in their places.

In a letter of January 6, 1773, Hastings outlined his new plans for the installation of a complete new system of revenue collection for Bengal, and the reduction from three to sixteen lacs of rupees of the amount paid by the Company to the nawab of Bengal. At this time Hastings appointed Munny Begam as guardian of the erratic nawab's household. He also arranged for a court of revenue adjustment to be opened at Calcutta, and for a new code of laws, based on old Hindu and Mohammedan proceedings, to be used for the administration of justice in Bengal.

Hastings' reforms, however, did not come in time to save the Company from the regulating act passed by Parliament in 1773—the first step toward Crown control for India. By the terms of the act, Hastings was elevated to the rank of governor-general of all India and head of a council of five members with headquarters at Calcutta.

Warren Hastings now became the great administrative organizer of Bengal, creating a new empire on the territorial foundations

of Lord Clive. His task was to reform the fiscal, judicial, and foreign policy of British India, and most difficult of all, to place Bengal on a profitable basis. General instructions sent from the London office to the Calcutta council on March 29, 1774, clearly incorporate these basic problems:

"We direct that you fix your attention to the preservation of peace throughout India, and to the security of the possessions and revenue of the Company.

"That in all your deliberations and resolutions you make the safety and prosperity of Bengal your principal object.

"We direct that you immediately cause the strictest inquiry to be made into all oppressions which may have been committed either against the natives or Europeans, and into all the abuses that may have prevailed in the collection of the revenues, or any part of the civil government of the Presidency, and that you communicate to us all information, which you may be able to obtain relative thereto, or to any dissipation or embezzlement of the Company's money.

✓ "We disapprove all such distant expeditions as may eventually carry our forces to any situation too remote to admit of their safe and speedy return to the protection of our provinces, in cases of emergency.

"We also utterly disapprove and condemn offensive wars, distinguishing, however, between offensive measures unnecessarily undertaken with a view to pecuniary advantages, and those which the preservation of our honor, or the protection or safety of our possessions, may render absolutely necessary."

Having adjusted along lines defined by the Company within the short space of two years, the internal affairs of the Bengal presidency, Hastings then turned his attention to another danger that vitally affected the Company's prosperity: the menace of its old enemies, the Marathas. This group had now grown so powerful that they threatened to become the rivals of England for the control of India.

Although the Marathas had failed to acquire the Punjab, yet western India was largely in their control. Their next goal ap-



Warren Hastings

peared to be the fertile lands of the Ganges, and the rich territories in and about Rohilkhand, Delhi, Agra, Allahabad, and Oudh.

The Marathas moved swiftly to victory. Led by brigands, living off plunder and heavy tolls levied on their victims, during the regime of Hastings they became the scourge of northern India. In the south they ravaged Hyderabad and Mysore, and approached the Madras presidency. Into their hands fell the great mogul, who had been forced by them to turn over Maratha provinces given him by the English and to whom Hastings, as a result, refused to pay tribute after he was unable to protect the English frontiers according to agreement.

To consolidate their hold on the north the Marathas offered to assist the deposed mogul of Bengal, Shah Alam, who had been living in Allahabad on an allowance assigned him by Clive in 1765, to recover his old stronghold of Delhi. The offer was accepted; in 1771 Shah Alam was restored to his old throne in the north. The conduct of Shah Alam in abandoning English protection for that of the Marathas led Hastings to consider himself justified in cutting off his annual payment. Hastings by so doing threw down the diplomatic gauntlet, and openly asserted the supremacy of the English in Bengal. The next move made by the shrewd Marathas was to demand from him his holdings off Kora and Allahabad that not only bordered but also protected the frontiers of Bengal and Oudh. But they were forestalled by Hastings, who sold them to the nawab of Oudh.

Beyond Oudh lay Rohilla, open on the south, bounded on the west by the Ganges, and on the north and east by the mountains of Tartary—the so-called highlands of Oudh. This land had been conquered fifty years before by a band of Afghans, the Rohillas, and re-named Rohilkhand. Their land, after the Maratha-Alam agreement had been consummated, was now exposed on the south to the raids of these brigands.

To check this menace, in 1772 the Rohillas under Hafiz Rahmat Khan entered into an agreement with the nawab of Oudh whereby for a certain sum he was to aid in repulsing the Maratha raids on

their land. But unfortunately the nawab, after fulfilling the terms of the contract, was unable to collect from his Rohilla allies.

The nawab of Oudh then called on his English allies for assistance, promising in return for their aid forty lacs of rupees. In the spring of 1774 their combined forces entered Rohilkhand, to engage in what was known as the Rohilla war. After conquering the Afghans, Rohilkhand was annexed to the province of Oudh. The secret treaty made by Hastings with the nawab at this time was one of the charges later raised against him by Parliament.

After the war was over, Hastings continued about his tasks, devoting his energies to the great interests which he was appointed to safeguard and watch. On the one hand he was confronted by the native powers, suspicious, often antagonistic, and frequently treacherous, who had to be appeased and handled; on the other were the directors in England whose main interests lay not with wars and diplomacy, but with dividends. Hastings at this period was full of enthusiasm for reforms in Bengal. In 1776 he had sent home a "Plan for the better administration of Justice in the Provinces," outlining the need for more courts in the provinces and for a superior civil court at Calcutta. He was also engaged on plans to reduce military expenses, and procure for the Company the valuable salt, betel nut, and tobacco revenue, formerly held by members of the Patna council.

The Rohilla war and his drastic reforms in Bengal made many enemies for Hastings in the Bengal council. The situation was an awkward one for the governor-general, for the council, although made up of Britishers totally unacquainted with Indian conditions, openly and constantly censured the foreign policies and fiscal reforms of the governor-general. In a letter to Lord North written from Fort William on March 27, 1775, Hastings refers to "the endeavors of General Clavering and Colonel Monson to condemn the measures of the late administration, and in the pains taken to attribute them wholly to myself, their aim was to destroy my credit at home." He also comments on the "dark and illiberal manner in which these charges have been introduced, and the violence and intemperance with which they have been supported." On March 25 he wrote of

his decision to leave India if his conduct was in any way displeasing to the Company in London.

The clash between Hastings and his council reached a climax two years later by his recall to London, a move promoted by the attempt of General Clavering to seize the reins of government by force. The question of a temporary successor to Hastings came up before the council, where it was handled in so undignified a manner that the former governor-general refused to bow before the humiliation to which he was subjected by his enemies.

Protesting against the treatment and activities of the council, in June, 1777, at the time of his recall, he wrote bitterly to Lord North in England:

"Your lordship may better conceive than I can express my disappointment and astonishment to find an instrument of peace converted into a brand of civil fury by the unexampled and extravagant conduct of General Clavering, who attempted to seize the government by force, took possession of the Council Chamber, demanded from me the keys of the fort and treasuries, then took the oath of governor-general."

Meanwhile the nizam of Oudh had died, leaving a letter addressed to Hastings beseeching him to protect his son and continue in their former alliance.

In the dark days that followed, this proof of the nawab's friendship, as well as the English-Oudh alliance, were to prove of inestimable value to the English in India. For Hastings within a short time was called upon to meet one of the most dangerous situations that had ever confronted India: the revival of the old Maratha menace whose center of activity had now moved south into the Deccan; and renewed French hostility brought on by war that had broken out in March, 1778, in Europe.

Since 1776, the political situation in Europe, which invariably reacted on India, had grown complicated again. French aid had been secured by the American colonies, which had declared their independence, and France, anxious to secure redress for the Seven Years' War, had sent a secret envoy to India to propose a French-Maratha alliance and the cession to her of a seaport on the west

coast of India. Of this Hastings had been warned by the British ambassador at Paris, and so was on the alert for symptoms of French activity in India.

Into this new center of hostile events Hastings was reluctantly drawn by the activities of the Bombay presidency, a reluctance intensified by the fact that one of the expressed policies of the East India Company, who warned Hastings to keep aloof from the Maratha-Hyderabad-Mysore confederacy and to have no communication, direct or indirect, with them, was to avoid war at all costs.

The wishes of the East India Company in London were disregarded by the leaders of the Bombay presidency. Eager to acquire more territory, especially the old Portuguese town of Salsette, they signed an agreement with a deposed Maratha chief, Rughonath Rao, to restore him to his old role of Maratha leader in return for certain territorial concessions. When word of this new treaty reached Hastings at Calcutta, he immediately denounced it as "impolitic, dangerous, unauthorized, and unjust," and sent an urgent appeal to Bombay to cancel this agreement.

But before his protest reached the east coast, the English expedition had already occupied Salsette and Bassein, and war had begun. This marks the beginning of a conflict lasting seven years that strained the Company's finances to the breaking point, involved Hastings in situations that led to his impeachment, and endangered the presidencies of Bombay and Madras.

Hastings realized that the Marathas were a constant menace to every British settlement in India, that they had strong alliances with many leading rulers in the Deccan, and that they were pro-French sympathizers. These facts, as well as the situation in America, and the danger of French encroachment in Bengal, forced Hastings to take immediate action. In 1778 he ordered the English troops to seize all French settlements in India, and a force sent from Bengal to protect Bombay against the Maratha hordes who had allied themselves with Hyderabad and Mysore.

In an attempt to keep war out of Bengal, Hastings now concentrated his entire force against the Maratha ally, Hyder Ali, who was threatening the presidency of Madras. The Marathas were not

far from its gates when, in 1779, Maké, a French settlement on the southwest coast, was captured by English troops. Its capture aroused the smoldering antagonism of Hyder Ali, who claimed that this French town was under his immediate protection. By way of retaliation, in 1780, eighty thousand Marathas and allies swept down from the Carnatic and reached the outskirts of Madras, where they almost annihilated the English forces sent out to oppose them.

Madras was saved from capture by the timely arrival of Sir Eyre Coote, who defeated Hyder Ali in the battle of Porto Novo in July, 1781, and saved the presidency. By this time the great fort of Gwalior, the key to central India and a fortress believed impregnable, had been captured by the English, Gujarat taken, and the great Maratha leader, Sindhia, checked.

After a long and costly war, hostilities were brought to a close with the Marathas in May, 1782, by the treaty of Salbai. But before peace had been made with the Marathas, the French were beginning to threaten the English presidencies. In 1781 a French squadron had reached the Coromandel Coast; a year later Suffren and his fleet reached the bay of Bengal, where five naval engagements were fought with the English commander Hughes; and in 1783 Bussy with reinforcements reached India. Only the end, in 1783, of the Anglo-French war in Europe saved the British forces from further losses on the part of French armies in India.

These wars had placed a financial strain on the Bengal treasury which it was unable to meet. In the stress of emergencies brought on by war, unpaid troops, the need for supplies, Hastings was forced to adopt ways and means to support his armies that brought bitter censure down on his head when the war was over.

The first of these questionable acts attributed to Hastings was a demand for £50,000 in cash made on the zemindar of Benares, Rajah Chait Singh, to finance the war. For three years this assessment was paid by the rajah in addition to his regular tribute of £225,000, but in 1780 he was also asked by the governor-general to supply two thousand cavalry. When he refused, Hastings decided to fine him £500,000, a move sanctioned by his council. As the fine was not forthcoming, Hastings ordered Chait Singh arrested.

The imprisoned rajah's troops now mutinied, massacred a company of British soldiers, and forced Hastings to retreat to Chunar where he rallied his men, and defeated the Benares insurgents, sending Chait Singh into exile. The rajah's domains were then given to a nephew who promised to pay heavy tribute to the English, and his treasure confiscated. The conduct of Hastings in this affair raised a storm of protest from his colleagues on the Calcutta council. The affair of Chait Singh was regarded with equal disfavor in England, where the court of directors resolved "that the conduct of the governor-general toward the Rajah of Benares was improper, unwarrantable, and highly impolitic."

Yet to Hastings the need during war for food, bullocks, and ammunition for the army seemed far more vital than how they were procured. In addition to demands made on Chait Singh, another attempt was made by the governor-general to extract pecuniary aid from the nawab of Oudh, who had fallen behind in his payments to the English; the nawab offered as an excuse the fact that the estate left him by his father was in the hands of his mother and grandmother, the begums of Oudh, who refused to give him his share of the inheritance.

To force the guardians of the young nawab to come to terms, the English, contrary to their guarantee, withdrew their protection, surrounded the begums' house, compelled them to pay the amounts due, and imprisoned the begums' two anti-British ministers with whom they were in conspiracy. In English legal circles this incident, the subject of parliamentary inquiry, later became famous as the "robbery of the begums of Oudh."

Notwithstanding the many internal problems requiring solution and the charges raised against him, Hastings did not disregard the possibility of extending the foreign trade of the East India Company. Among countries with which cordial relations were established was Tibet; an envoy was sent to visit the lama, and such articles as gold dust, musk, and cow-tails were listed as having commercial value. Of more interest to Hastings was the possibility of opening up trade between Suez and Bengal, and among the Warren Hastings papers dated 1785 are several pages devoted to this topic.

A British agent at Suez, he believed, might interest Greek and Armenian merchants in trading with Bengal by way of Egypt, where muslins, ginger, pepper, and cardamon seeds could be bartered or sold for copper, Venetian beads, lead, saffron, senna, coral, pearls, cochineal, and wax.

The last years of Hastings in India were devoted to an attempt to bring order out of the chaotic financial situation brought on by the Maratha wars, and to restore order to Benares and Oudh. When he resigned the governor-generalship in 1784, India was at peace once more. Out of the wars, the internal strife, the economic unrest, there had arisen a vast British empire in India, welded together by the iron hand of its great saviour.

His work in India was the subject of the following testimonial, passed at a meeting of the court of directors on October 28, 1784:

"That as peace and tranquillity are now perfectly established throughout India, and this court being sensible that this happy event has been principally owing to the very able and spirited exertions of our governor-general and of our supreme council—that the thanks of this court be conveyed to Warren Hastings, Esq., for his firm, unwearied, and successful endeavors in procuring the late peace with the several powers in India."

On February 3, 1785, Hastings sailed from India on the *Barrington*. On June 13 he landed at Plymouth, unconscious as yet of the difficult ordeal ahead of him. Here he was joined by Mrs. Hastings, whose ill health had forced her to return the previous year to England.

With his savings—some £80,000—Hastings purchased a small estate of 91 acres, Beaumont Lodge, near Windsor Forest, where he conducted elaborate experiments in gardening; and a town house on Wimpole Street. Breeding Arabian horses and experimenting with rare seeds brought from India proved interesting hobbies, and occupied his leisure hours. Another diversion of his facile mind was classical literature. He possessed a profound knowledge of early Greek and Latin poetry, and in his letters of this period he quotes frequently from Horace.

His great desire, however, now that he was living permanently

in England, was to restore the old family property of Daylesford. This he finally purchased in 1788, adding to the old buildings a new manor house as well as extensive gardens. Here he passed many happy years with Mrs. Hastings; and here on August 22, 1818, he passed away at the age of eighty-five. The remains of Warren Hastings, marked by a simple tablet, lie in the vault of the local parish church.

Parliamentary Acts and Tactics

THE ACQUISITION OF BENGAL raised East India Company stock to meteoric heights. Glowing accounts of the potential wealth of the bay area, fortunes brought or sent home by the Company's officials and servants, Clive's princely gift of the diwanni of Bengal, etched in the minds of Londoners, especially those more directly interested, notably the directors of the Company and court circles, visions of wealth far more roseate than conditions in Bengal warranted. In London there was a widespread desire to have a share in the India treasure chest, to acquire a share in India fortunes that enabled retired servants of the Company to set up establishments in England rivaling those of the nobility.

Of the danger of exaggerating the endless flow of revenue from India to England, Clive sounded a warning note when he wrote in his *Memoirs*: "The resources of Bengal are great but not inexhaustible." In 1765 he estimated that the entire revenue of Bengal was £4,000,000, and that after deducting expenses only £1,700,000 remained. Notwithstanding Clive's warning, in 1766 the annual dividend paid by the Company was raised from 6 to 10 per cent, causing East India Company stock to reach a peak of 263.

The firm hand that had guided the destinies of the Company from a group of merchants into great landed proprietors was removed when, in January, 1767, Clive was forced, because of ill health, to leave India for England. His departure left the Company, long overstrained by wars, in a precarious situation. Discipline, never too firm, grew lax; graft, corruption, and extravagance hampered the collection of revenue, and the Company's servants indulged in an orgy of private trade that materially affected the

Company's prosperity. Soon rumors of the true state of affairs in India began to drift into England.

Clive's return to England coincided with what proved to be the first of a long series of parliamentary investigations that began in May, 1767, into the wealth, rights of ownership, and conduct of the East India Company's affairs in India. These investigations ultimately wrecked the two great leaders, Clive and Hastings, shocked all England with the force and venom of their disclosures, and finally forced the Company to submit to Crown control.

Fundamentally, the years of strife between the Crown and the Company that now followed revolved around this basic principle: whether sovereignty in any territory could be vested in a company, or whether it belonged by state's rights to the Crown. Parliament claimed the inherent right of the Crown to all lands acquired in India; the Company replied by the assertion that their India properties were merely in the nature of a vast farm, granted by the mogul, to whom they paid annual rent.

In Parliament there was now formed a strong group, headed by Beckford, Barré, and General Burgoyne, whose objective was to attempt to secure the Company's possessions for the king. The first attack of this strong coalition on the basic rights of the East India Company came in the form of five separate acts passed between 1767 and 1775 that regulated the form of voting allowed at the Company's meetings, defined the amount of dividend to be paid annually, and—what proved to be a heavy drain—forced it to pay £400,000 annually to the Crown for the right to retain its India holdings. The latter move, a quiet method of extortion whereby the Crown acquired a share in India profits, and which raised a storm of protest among holders of East India stock, was openly called political blackmail, and was branded by England's fiery orator Edmund Burke, parliamentary investigator into the Company's activities, a method of forcing the Company into making cash payments to Parliament. The Company, nevertheless, acquiesced, aware that graver evils might be inflicted on them at the hands of Parliament.

When the finances of the Company appeared to be on the brink

of ruin, in April, 1772, General Burgoyne, the indefatigable opponent of the East India Company, and his clique presented and had carried a motion to appoint a select committee of thirty-one members to conduct an investigation of the Company's activities. Undoubtedly Burgoyne's group had excellent grounds for such an investigation. Four months later, notwithstanding the fact that in March the Company's dividend rate had been raised to $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, the Company was forced to apply to the government for a loan of £1,000,000.

The wave of disapproval of the Company's financial methods openly expressed at this time was increased by the reports of the select committee and those of another inner group known as the secret committee, which proved to be highly unfavorable. Of the flood of indignation against the Company that swept London at this time Horace Walpole writes: "Such a scene of tyranny and plunder has been opened up as makes one shudder. We are Spaniards in our lust for gold, and Dutch in our delicacy of obtaining it." Even more colorful was the language of another British critic who wrote: "India teems with iniquities so rank as to smell to heaven and earth." A subtle warning was even heard in Shelburne's comment that a "blow was impending in that part of the world, which must shake to its foundations the revenue, manufacturers, and prosperity of this country."

In a belated attempt to rectify these evils, the Company now nominated six supervisors to proceed to India to inspect and revise methods of government. But in December, 1772, a bill passed Parliament prohibiting this move. By March, 1773, the financial condition of the Company was so desperate that they were forced to seek a new loan of £1,400,000 from Parliament. At the same time an appeal was made "that in the then circumstances of the East India Company, it would not be in their power to provide for the repayment of such a loan, and for the establishing of their affairs upon a more secure foundation for the time to come, unless the public should agree to forego for the present all participation in the profits arising from the territorial acquisitions and revenues lately obtained in the East Indies."

Lord Clive, whose conduct in India was beginning to be the subject of deep-seated inquiry, attributed the financial abyss into which the Company had fallen to four major causes: the carelessness of his successors, notably Verelst and Cartier in India; flagrant neglect on the part of the administration; lack of judgment on the part of the Directors, and the "violent and outrageous proceedings" of the general court in England.

Soon Burgoyne, openly attacking Clive in fiery language in the House of Commons, induced that group to pass a resolution "that all acquisitions made under the influence of military force, or by treaty with foreign princes, do of right belong to the State." Opposing Burgoyne was Burke, who, rallying to the Company's support, did not favor state control for territory in India.

To alleviate the immediate needs of the Company, in 1773 Parliament passed two acts. The first granted the Company the desired loan of £1,400,000 at 4 per cent. The second was known as the Regulating Act of 1773, a bill of profound and far-reaching significance. This act "destroyed," according to the Company and its friends who opposed the bill, "every privilege which the petitioners hold under the most sacred securities that subjects can depend upon in this country." By this act the constitution of the Company, as it affected both England and India, was remodeled and the Company was placed under the direct supervision of the Ministry.

For some time there had been a definite feeling in England that the East India Company should be placed under governmental control. The Regulating Act of 1773 was the first tangible step in this direction. By the provisions of the bill, for the first time India was to be governed, not by an appointee of the Company, but by a governor-general and four councilors elected by the Crown. To this group of five, representing the Crown, was entrusted power to superintend the subordinate presidencies, make war and peace, and control the revenues.

The act further provided for a supreme court of judicature, responsible only to the king, in India. The personnel of this judicial body was composed of a chief justice and three puisne, or junior, judges, whose task was to administer English law throughout India.

Proposed salaries were generous; the governor-general would receive £25,000, the councilors £10,000, and the chief justice £8,000 annually.

By this act there was now set up in India for the first time a dual group, a supreme court and a supreme council, both responsible to the king. Theoretically sound, in actual practise many problems and misunderstandings arose over the respective duties and responsibilities of the two groups. Many difficulties arose, too, in the law courts, primarily over the fact that English law failed to take into consideration the habits, sentiments, and religious beliefs of the inhabitants of India.

One defect of the Regulating Act was that it placed the execution of law, justice, and order in the hands of men new to India and thousands of miles away from Parliament under whom they functioned, a defect of which Philip Francis, a member of the Bengal council, wrote sarcastically to a friend in England:

"I wish you would inquire and tell me in what dirty corner of Westminster Hall these cursed Judges were picked up. I have no personal quarrel with any of them, but assuredly they are driving hard to the destruction of this country. It was a pleasant idea to give a nation a Court of Judicature before you gave them a Constitution. I see a number of streams, but no fountain. I see laws without a Sovereign. Does any man in England know, or think it worth his while to enquire who is *King of Bengal*? I believe not. Yet, though a matter of indifference among great politicians at a distance, it is really a question of some little account to us who pretend to be a government, and are now and then obliged to act as if we were so."

The act also provided that law, order, and justice were to be administered from the premises of old Fort William, now commonly known as Calcutta. The first and only governor to whom the destinies of India were entrusted under the new act was Warren Hastings. He was assisted by the Calcutta council, consisting of Sir John Clavering, Colonel George Monson, Richard Barwell, and Philip Francis.

In the years that followed, the practical results of new govern-

ment for India were largely overshadowed by the political situation in Europe and in the British colonies in America. Not until the problems of America were definitely settled did Parliament turn its attention once more to India, and enact further measures for regulating the East India Company.

A vigorous attack was made against it again in 1780 when Lord North, hostile to Hastings, introduced a motion that the Company's debts, which now amounted to £4,200,000, should be paid off and the Company dissolved. His motion was bitterly attacked by Charles Fox, who caustically asked the opposing lord if he was not satisfied with having lost America.

Perilously near the brink of dissolution, the Company was again rescued by the Act of 1781, which extended the privileges of the Company to March 1, 1791, upon payment to the state of £400,000 in discharge of all claims. At the same time the obnoxious secret and select committees were revived.

The task of the select committee, presided over by Burke, was to investigate the cumbersome administration of justice in India, a system of which servants and officials in India were complaining bitterly. To the secret committee over which Henry Dundas, lord advocate of Scotland, presided, was entrusted an inquiry into the causes of the late war.

The voluminous reports of these two committees on India were received both favorably and unfavorably in England. Supporters of the Company called them "frivolous, ridiculous, and absurd." Parliament, on the other hand, regarded the administration of affairs in India, based on information supplied from these sources, as such a blight on English national integrity, honor, and justice that forty-five resolutions were passed condemning various practices in India.

The outstanding events at this time were the speech and report on April 9, 1782, of Henry Dundas and the secret committee in which were disclosed the extent of the national calamities in the East, the misconduct of those in charge of the presidencies, the wars of conquest, and the robbing and oppression of the natives.

Specific charges were made by Dundas against Sir Thomas Rumbold, president of Madras, William Hornby of Bombay, and War-

ren Hastings of Calcutta. Although the Company made desperate attempts to support and protect Hastings, whose dismissal was under consideration on the grounds of his conduct toward Rajah Chait Singh, Dundas offered a resolution "that Warren Hastings, Esq., Governor-General of Bengal, and William Hornby, Esq., President of the Council of Bombay, having in sundry instances acted in a manner repugnant to the honor and policy of this nation, and thereby brought great calamities on India, and enormous expenses to the East India Company, it is the duty of the said Company to pursue all legal and effectual means for the removal of the said Governor General and President from their respective offices; and to recall them to Great Britain." Hastings, however, was not recalled.

Meanwhile, major changes were taking place in the British cabinet. In March, 1782, Lord North resigned and was succeeded by the Marquis of Rockingham, who was equally unfriendly to the Company. Against the Company were also arraigned the power leaders, Pitt, Fox, and Dundas.

On November 11, 1783, a new Parliament met in session. After discussing the various treaties of peace recently signed with France, Spain, America, and the United Provinces, the question of India and its pressing need of reforms came up for discussion. Two weeks later, under the new ministry, two revolutionary bills directed against the East India Company were introduced by Fox. These proposed to give the Company what was virtually a new constitution and to rescue from bankruptcy "the drooping commerce of Bengal."

Having berated the Company in fiery language in a speech in Parliament, Fox then turned the full force of his oratory on the work of Hastings in Bengal. "The Indian people," he said, "groan under the scourge, the extortion, and the massacre of a cruel and desperate man, whom in my conscience and from my heart I detest and execrate."

Pitt opposed Fox's measures, calling them "among the most desperate and alarming attempts at the exercise of tyranny that ever disgraced the annals of this or any other country." Burke and the North-Fox coalition, who had supported the bill and had secured

the passage of his second bill through the House of Commons by a vote of 208 to 108, witnessed its defeat by nineteen votes after George III opposed it in the House of Lords.

Although the bill was defeated by the Lords, yet it was subsequently revived and revised by its opponent, Pitt, who had succeeded Fox as head of a new ministry; he introduced his famous India Bill the following January. On August 13, 1784, Pitt's Act for India was passed by Parliament. The act provided for a board of control made up of the chancellor of the exchequer, the secretary of state, and four privy councilors appointed by the king to govern India and "to give the Crown the power of guiding India with as little means of corrupt influence as possible." Pitt's act established a dual system of government for the East India Company, a system whereby it functioned under the control of a minister responsible to the crown. This act was retained until 1858, when England assumed full control of India.

The India bill ruined Hastings. "It has destroyed," he wrote bitterly, "all my hopes both here and at home. What devil has Mr. Pitt dressed for his exemplar and clothed with such damnable attributes of ambition, spirit of conquest, thirst of blood, propensity to expense and trouble, extravagance and improvidence, disobedience of orders, plunder, extortion . . . Am I of this character? Assuredly not."

Resigning from his post in February, 1785, Hastings sailed from Calcutta for England. While at sea he wrote his *Memoir Relative to the State of India*. In it Hastings is revealed as a man who, pressed by war, financial stringency, and burdens not of his own creating, labored valiantly to keep afloat by any means at his command the Company's India properties during what was undoubtedly the most critical period of its chequered existence.

Yet the fact remains that Hastings, although an able military leader, was a poor financial manager. At the time he left India, Bengal revenues had fallen so low that income did not cover expenditures. Hastings felt this situation keenly. "Of the many invectives," he wrote, "whether excited by policy, malevolence, or truth, which have been thrown upon the administration of Bengal, that of a

lavish expenditure of public money, in current expenses and in fixed establishments, has been a constant and labored source of degradation."

While Hastings was on the high seas, sinister forces had been working against him in England. His old enemy on the Bengal council, Francis, had been stirring up trouble against him, and the ministerial party, headed by Pitt, used the India situation as a political device to strengthen their position in England. Hastings was made the target for attacks on the East India Company, for the English public believed that England's name, good faith, and integrity were at stake in India.

The storm that descended on the head of Warren Hastings was not long in breaking. On June 20, only a few days after his arrival in London, Burke caustically remarked in Parliament "that if no other gentleman would undertake the business, he would, at a future day, make a motion respecting the conduct of a gentleman just returned from India." Having recalled a vote of censure passed several years earlier against the conduct of Hastings, the orator asked that the charges be reopened.

Burke, through legal channels, was then asked to produce his charges. In April, 1786, he read before the House a list of eleven accusations. In these Hastings was accused: Of gross injustice, cruelty, and treachery against the faith of nations in hiring British soldiers for the purpose of extirpating the innocent and helpless people who inhabited the land of the Rohillas. With using the authority delegated to him through the East India Company in treating the king, Shah Alum, the great mogul, with the greatest cruelty, for bereaving him of considerable territory, and withholding forcibly that tribute of twenty-six lacs of rupees which the Company engaged to pay as an annual tribute or compensation for their holding in his name the diwanni of Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa. With various instances of extortion and other deeds of maladministration against the rajah of Benares. With the numerous and insupportable hardships to which the royal family of Oudh had been reduced, in consequence of their connection with the supreme council. With having, by no less than six revolutions, brought the fertile and beautiful

provinces of Farruckhabad to a state of most deplorable ruin. With impoverishing and depopulating the whole country of Oudh, and of rendering that country, which was once a garden, an uninhabited desert. With a wanton, unjust, and pernicious exercise of his powers and the great situation of trust which he occupied in India in overturning the ancient establishments of the country, and extending an undue influence, by conniving at extravagant contracts and appointing inordinate salaries. With receiving money against the orders of the Company, the act of Parliament, and his own secret engagements; and applying that money to purposes wholly improper and unauthorized. With having resigned by proxy for the obvious purpose of retaining his situation, and denying that deed in person, in direct opposition to all those powers under which he acted. With treachery to Muzaffar Jang who had been placed under his guardianship. With enormous extravagance and bribery in various contracts with a view to enrich his dependents and favorites.

There was considerable doubt in the public mind as to the justice and wisdom of the impeachment of Warren Hastings and many arguments and debates on the subject took place. Among those to favor moderation was George III, who said, "I do not think it is possible to carry on business in that country with the same moderation that is suitable to a European civilized nation."

Finally, on February 8, 1787, by a vote of 175 to 68, a decision was reached to impeach Warren Hastings on twenty-two charges, all, incidentally, supplied by Philip Francis. Included among them were: "violation of the treaties made with the nawab of Oudh, with having interfered in that ruler's internal affairs, with having unrighteously sold to him Kora and Allahabad, with oppression and cruelty in the case of Chait Singh and the begams of Oudh, with an arbitrary settlement of the land revenues of Bengal, with fraudulent dealings in contracts and commissions, and the acceptance of presents and bribes."

Opposed to Hastings were the fiery orator Burke, as well as Sheridan, Gilbert, Elliot, Fox, and Windham. Many prominent men, both in England and India, rallied to the India leader's support. Two important women of that period, Fanny Burney and Hannah

More, spoke favorably in his behalf. The Company supported Hastings throughout the crisis. "This court," they voted, "hath the highest opinion of the services and integrity of Warren Hastings and cannot admit a suspicion of corrupt motives operating on his conduct, without proof."

The Hastings trial opened on February 13, 1788, in Westminster Hall. So much interest had been aroused by the indictment charges that the opening session was packed by the nobility of England, including the Prince of Wales and the princesses. Curious crowds thronged the streets, blocking the approach to the Hall in such a manner that three hundred footguards were required to insure decorum and order.

In Westminster Hall, before the lord chancellor and the aristocracy of England, Warren Hastings was formally charged with "high crimes and misdemeanors" in the conduct of affairs in India. An outstanding event of the opening session was the bitter oration delivered against him by Burke. After giving a résumé of the history of Hindustan, and its transition to English rule, Burke pointed out how its inhabitants had suffered under the regime of Warren Hastings. He illustrated his point by indicating that the native tax collectors had extorted money from the farmers, forcing them to sell corn and cattle at one-fourth their value; how, when they could not pay their taxes, they were forced to borrow money at 600 per cent; how, if they refused to borrow, their huts had been burned, the men tortured by hideous medieval methods, and the women violated. "Out of their misery," he concluded, "is derived the wealth and subsistence of the East India Company, who use funds thus procured to buy the China tea served on English breakfast tables!"

• Throughout the trial, the flowery oratory and sharp wit of Burke poured forth a vitriolic torrent of abuse on Hastings. "We have not chosen to bring before you," Burke said, "a poor trembling delinquent. We have brought before you the head, the chief, a captain-general of iniquity, and in whom all the fraud, all the tyranny of India are embodied, disciplined, and arrayed. I charge him with having taken away the lands of orphans, with having wasted the

country and destroyed the inhabitants, after cruelly harassing and distressing them. I charge him with having tortured their persons and dishonored their religion through his wicked agents, who were at the bottom and root of his villainy. I charge him in the name of the Commons of England. Now, my lords, what is it we want?

"We want to have the causes of oppressed princes, of undone women of the first rank redressed, of desolate provinces and wasted kingdoms redressed. I impeach Warren Hastings in the name of the people of all India, whose laws, rights and liberties he has subverted. I impeach him in the name of the people of India whose country he has destroyed. I impeach him in the name of human nature, which he has cruelly injured and oppressed in both sexes."

With the wit and brains of England pitting forces against one another, the trial of Warren Hastings dragged out interminably, lasting seven years, extending through seven Parliaments, and being heard at 148 court sittings. Finally on May 28, 1793, Warren Hastings made his final appeal to vindicate his honor. In this closing speech he called on heaven to witness his innocence, solemnly swearing he had never at any time intentionally sacrificed the public interest to his private advantage.

He pleaded the stress under which the Company in India was placed, the desperate need of funds to save their holdings, the time required during emergencies in attempting to communicate with the home office in London, and the effort he had made to solve local problems with the inadequate means at his command.

On April 23, 1795, Hastings was summoned to hear the verdict of the House of Lords. He was told that he had been acquitted by a large majority of all charges of personal corruption, and that many of his questionable acts were justified by conditions in India. Notwithstanding, the trial had cost Hastings £70,000, had absorbed the best years of his life, had left him almost bankrupt, and had damaged his chances for honorable promotions or positions in England.

The redress for which Hastings now petitioned was not granted by Parliament. The Company, however, made some attempts to recompense him for the humiliation suffered by the impeachment

and, on May 29, a general court of the East India Company was held, at which a resolution was passed authorizing that body to indemnify Hastings for his legal expenses, and to grant him an annuity of £4,000 for 28 years.

The impeachment of Warren Hastings is one of the black spots of English judicial history. Undoubtedly one of the outstanding statesmen of India, a man modest, quiet, unassuming, and wholly devoted to the interests of those he served, Hastings was placed by the force of peculiar circumstances into entanglements from which he extricated himself in the most expeditious manner at his disposal.

One of the strangest aspects of the life of the East India Company's servants in India, plainly disclosed in the impeachment of Hastings, was the preponderance of personal jealousies, petty rivalry, and sheer vindictiveness of spirit shown in the letters written by the vast majority of the Company's servants, from the lowest clerk to those of highest rank in India, to friends and relatives in England.

The effects of this correspondence were far-reaching. Governor after governor left India, the victim of the vitriolic pens of his subordinates. That Hastings bore the enmity of certain members of his council, his trial in England, his loss of prestige and preferment, and the unfriendliness of petty officials, with patience, philosophy, and an unruffled spirit is perhaps one of the finest tributes to his inherent greatness.

Tea, Taxes, and Liberty

ABOUT 1650 a new commodity that was destined to prove not only of profound commercial but also of far-reaching political significance, was brought into England in the holds of the East India Company's ships from India. Although foreign to England, this new importation—destined to become the national drink of Great Britain—had been known throughout the Far East for many centuries before the Christian era as *sha*, *cha*, or *té*.

The earliest record of this Oriental herb dates back to the year 2737 B.C., when its virtues were first extolled by the great emperor Chin Nung and its merits as both a medicinal and stimulating beverage praised. Significant of the popularity of tea throughout the Celestial Empire in the centuries that followed Chin Nung's demise is the fact that in 793 A.D. tea was placed on the list of commodities subject to tax in China.

From its Oriental birthplace, tea migrated to the Japanese islands when followers of the Buddhist faith crossed the Korean Straits in 588 A.D. and introduced the cultivation of the tea plant (together with Buddhist images and sutras) into Kyushu, the most southerly island of what was then known, because of its situation east of China, as The Land of the Rising Sun. That same century tea was also carried by proselytizing Chinese monks across the snow-covered passes of the Himalayas into the venerable center of Buddhism, India, where a flourishing trade had been carried on since Biblical days with Near Eastern lands bordering the Persian Gulf and the blue waters of the Mediterranean.

For countless centuries the Near East, commercially speaking, has formed the connecting link between southern Europe and Asia.

To these lands the West owes its first knowledge of the Indian beverage which is mentioned in the reminiscences of an Arabian merchant, Soliman, or Suleiman. In his *Travels to the East*, written in 850 A.D., he describes the use of a medicinal drink, prepared by pouring boiling water on the dried leaves of an Oriental shrub, called *cha*. Soliman's discovery, oddly enough, aroused only a mild interest among a limited circle of readers, an interest that faded into oblivion in the ensuing dark ages which, marked by the Crusades and religious, civil, and internecine strife, radically checked intercourse between Europe and the Orient.

On the European continent tea does not appear to have been introduced until 1588 when it was brought into Portugal by Portuguese mariners whose ships, braving the perils of the unknown passage around the Cape of Good Hope, found a direct sea route to India. As a beverage, tea failed to appeal to the taste of the wine-drinking Portuguese public, although used to some extent in court circles. The English poet, Edmund Waller, recognized this fact almost a century later in the congratulatory ode dedicated to Catherine, daughter of King John of Portugal, on her birthday, entitled *Of Tea, Commended by Her Majesty*:

"Venus her myrtle, Phoebus has his bays;
Tea both excells, which she vouchsafes to praise.
The best of queens, and best of herbs we owe,
To that bold nation which the way did show
To the fair region where the sun does rise,
Whose rich productiones we so justly prize.
The Muse's friend, tea, does our fancy aid,
Repress those vapors which the head invade,
And keeps that palace of the soul serene,
Fit on her birthday to salute the queen."

Cha was also brought at this same period into another wine-loving country, Italy, where some attempt was made in intellectual circles to introduce it as a drink. In 1590 the Italian writer, Giovanni Botero, alert to the times, mentions its medicinal properties. "The Chinese have an herb," he writes, "out of which they press a delicate juice, which serves them for a drink instead of wine; it also

preserves their health and frees them from all those evils that the immoderate use of wine doth breed in us."

In Italy, at least, Botero's words appear to have fallen on deaf ears. Tea as a commercial commodity came not into southern, but into northern Europe when, early in the seventeenth century, it was brought into Holland by the Dutch, the leading merchants of that period, who imported it from the Orient along with silks, porcelains, and spices. Here, to the dismay of its sponsors, the public at large refused for a time to accept this soothing drink. In fact, provincial Dutchmen, accustomed to the rich beers and wines of central Europe, greeted this pallid stimulant with laughter and disdain, labeling it *Heu Wasser*, or Hay Water.

An even more serious charge against the unpopular Hay Water came from the learned Simon Pauli, whose treatise, published in 1635 and entitled *Comment de Abusu Tabacci et Herbae* definitely branded tea as injurious to the constitution.

It was finally accepted by the Dutch national world in 1641 after "thee" was recognized by the celebrated Dutch physician Tulpitius as a beneficial and stimulating beverage.

The opinion of Tulpitius was substantiated by the learned court physician Dr. Cornelius Bontekoe, whose comment that even two or three hundred cups might be safely drunk in a day without injury was regarded as authoritative. Pauli's charge was now definitely refuted by the learned doctor's opinion, and the prestige of the scorned Hay Water seemed assured. How important Bontekoe's verdict was considered and what effect it had on the coffers of the Dutch East India Company is indicated by the fact that its directors presented the learned doctor with a handsome present.

For the next few decades the Dutch East India Company attempted to sell tea throughout central Europe, yet it was not until 1650 that it reached England. Factors of the English East India Company stationed in the Orient had been familiar before that time with Chinese tea, and in a letter written from Japan in 1615 by Richard Wickham to a friend in Macao, a request is made for a pot of the best sort of *chaw*. In the middle of the seventeenth century, among goods shipped to England from the Orient, pack-

ages of tea began to appear. At this time in London the leaves were sold, usually to the nobility, for £10 per pound.

The first public sale of tea appears to have been held soon after; and in September, 1658, the following advertisement appeared in the *Mercurius Politicus*, No. 435:

"That excellent and by all Physitians approved China drink, called by the Chinese *Tcha*, by other nations *Tay*, alias Tee, is sold at the Sultanness Head, a cophee-house in Sweetings Rents, by the Royal Exchange, London."

Fortunately for the directors of the East India Company, climatic conditions in England favored the use of the new beverage. To what extent the convivial centers known as coffeehouses contributed to its use is impossible to say, but in London, at least, tea won almost immediate favor. Indicative of its early popularity is the fact that Parliament two years later began the series of taxes that were destined seriously to affect the fate of England and her colonies, by placing on the tea infusion sold at coffeehouses a tax of sixpence a gallon.

By the sixties it appears to have become one of the leading drinks of England. Much of its success in this decade may be attributed to Charles II, to whom the East India Company made a present of the novelty. In the minutes of the Company under date of September 30, 1664, this entry is recorded: "A lb. 2 oz. of *Thea* for His Majesty—£4-5." Less than two years after Charles II was presented with his first package of *Thea* by the East India Company there is listed, on June 30, 1666, among "raretyes" imported by the Company from China, 22¼ pounds of tea, valued at 50 shillings. That the elite of England were now clamoring for this "raretye" did not escape the alert eye of that keen observer of contemporary English life, Samuel Pepys, whose diary, on September 25, 1660, records, "I did send for a cup of tea, a China drink of which I had never drunk before."

It was soon after Charles II and the London nobility set their stamp of approval on *thee* that it began to be used extensively in the London coffeehouses where it appeared on bills of fare, together with coffee, chocolate, and sherbet. In England, oddly

enough tea soon eclipsed in popularity Arabian coffee, which had been brought into England in 1652 by the East India Company. What were known in London in those days as coffeehouses were not places where the black Arabian brew was exclusively sold, but convivial meeting-places where animated groups discussed politics, art, and literature over coffee, tea, or sherbet. Coffeehouses, for a time, even became the centers of rabid political meetings, which so incensed the by now unpopular monarch, Charles II, that he attempted to close their doors.

The more general importation of tea into London appears to date from the year 1677, when the Company ordered its factors in the Far East to procure "teas of the best kind to the amount of £20." But when, in the year following, 4,713 pounds were imported into London, the local market was unable to absorb the supply. Most of this early tea came from Amoy, and was sold to English factors at Surat and Madras. Despite the temporary oversupply, tea gradually became from then on the standard drink throughout England. In fact, so universal was its use that by 1700, 90,000 pounds at an average price of 16 shillings a pound, and after 1800, 23,000,000 pounds, were being imported annually into England. That tea was used extensively in Scotland and Ireland before 1700 seems unlikely, for in 1685 when the widow of the Duke of Monmouth sent a pound of tea to her relatives in Scotland the tea was boiled, the liquor thrown away, and the leaves served as a vegetable.

For tea as a fruitful source of revenue to attract the attention of the English monarch, always pressed for funds, was inevitable. In 1670 a tax of 2 shillings, and in 1689 a customs duty of 5 shillings a pound, was placed on tea leaves. As a direct result of this drastic tax there arose a new menace, one that was destined to flourish for more than two centuries—the smuggler. Tea in such quantities was brought for a time through this illegal channel into England, and the evil was carried to such lengths that the emperor of Germany actually established an East India Company at Ostend to supply tea to British smugglers.

The proximity of a rival concern at Ostend brought home to the

British public the depths to which the English tea market had fallen. For a few brief years the tea tax was now lowered, only to be suddenly raised after smuggling had been checked. For the next fifty years tea was subject to a wide and distressing series of duties that culminated in 1720 with taxes amounting to 200 per cent of the net cost.

The tea-tax evil found a virile opponent in the British smuggler, who plied his illicit trade with such zest that by 1745 a committee was appointed, somewhat belatedly, from the House of Commons to ascertain the causes of smuggling and to suggest ways and means to prevent it. The practical outcome of their findings was that the tea tax was reduced to a shilling a pound, and smuggling, temporarily at least, restrained.

By 1750 the East India Company's trade had expanded to tremendous proportions. The days of its exclusive trade in pepper and spices had passed; tied up at the East India Company's docks at this time rode ships piled high with every kind of Far Eastern luxury found from Cathay to the Red Sea. Among the miscellaneous cargoes carried in the hulls of these Anglo-India vessels were hundreds of chests, each holding 340 pounds of tea. Most of the chests held what was known as choice bohea, a high-grade China tea that had been introduced into India.

The best tea market, in addition to that in England, was found in the Thirteen Colonies, which with their 3,000,000 inhabitants, used an amount estimated at 3,000 chests annually. Of this amount statistics showed that Boston and Charleston alone consumed one chest each day. The Dutch centers, New York and Pennsylvania, however, bought tea only from Holland—usually smuggled in by Dutch traders—and so, to a lesser extent, did Rhode Island. The tea situation in America was far from satisfactory to the Company, which saw its own warehouses overflowing with unsold tea which, owing to its high taxes, could not hope to compete with that brought in by illicit traders. The difficult problem faced by the Company was how to market their tea in the Colonies in competition with their piratical Dutch rivals.

That the American tea market was being seriously jeopardized

by high taxes, smugglers, and strained relations between England and the Thirteen Colonies, began to be apparent in 1765 when the Stamp Act was passed by Parliament. Fresh fuel was added to the smoldering political fires in 1767 by the Townshend Revenue Act imposing duties on paper, painters' colors, glass, and tea imported into the Colonies. Notwithstanding the fact that their monarch, George III, was in dire need of extra revenue to carry on foreign wars, the sturdy colonists who had migrated from England to escape persecution and establish their own independent government were indignant at this parliamentary measure—passed by a group 3,000 miles away—which they regarded as a direct challenge to their independence, freedom, and liberty.

The Townshend Act brought to a head the republican tendencies that George III feared in British America. The colonists' reply to this drastic measure was a stubborn refusal to import or use the taxed commodities. As a result, in 1770 all taxes, except those on tea, were repealed in an effort to placate the rebellious Americans. But this semiredress, instead of creating a favorable impression, merely concentrated the colonial revolt solely on tea. Notwithstanding the fact that this drink was usually used twice a day by the average family, and was almost a household necessity, not a luxury, the colonists consistently denied themselves their favorite stimulant.

As a result of the tea tax, the East India Company now found itself in a serious dilemma. The Dutch were smuggling tea into the Colonies through New York and Philadelphia, which undersold the English product, while the East India Company's chests remained unsold, cluttering the warehouses. Of the seriousness of the situation, and of the violent opposition of their time-honored enemies, the Dutch, the London officials of the East India Company were cognizant from letters mailed to London from America. In them repeated warnings were given, often from mysterious sources, to the effect that "the introduction of the East India Company's tea is violently opposed here by a set of men who shamefully live by monopolizing tea in the smuggling way."

As letters poured in, 17,000,000 pounds of surplus tea piled up

at the Company's docks. Faced with enormous losses, with capital tied up, with the London tea market demolished, with dividends passed and with debts unpaid, the harassed officials of the English East India Company petitioned Parliament for the right to export tea, duty free, to America. To remedy this serious situation, a bill to relieve the distressing conditions that confronted the East India Company's tea trade in the American Colonies was introduced by Lord North in 1772, and passed on May 10, 1773.

Lord North's bill, known as the Tea Act, granted the Company the right to export tea directly to the thirteen American Colonies, without passing through an English seaport, or, if first landed in England, and there reshipped to America, the English tax of a shilling a pound would be removed and only the three-pence entrance duty into the Colonies retained. This measure was designed to benefit the colonists as well as the Company, by lowering the price of English tea to meet that of the smuggled Dutch product. Finally, on August twentieth of that same year, a special license was given the East India Company to send 600,000 pounds of surplus tea to America.

Overjoyed at what seemed like the end of their difficulties, the London directors now began to make inquiry for reputable local merchants capable of marketing and handling their large stock of tea in the colonies. There was talk, too, of establishing a branch house of the East India Company in Philadelphia. The plan finally adopted as more practical, however, was to select in the various leading cities as factors, merchants of sound standing who would act as consignees for the home office of the Company in London.

But the British government and the East India Company back in England had failed to gauge the mettle of their distant opponents. Disregarding the war clouds gathering on the horizon, the hints of smoldering fires about to burst into flame, they refused to believe the rumors that floated to London across the Atlantic that the colonists would refuse to allow the Company's ships to unload tea in Boston harbor. This great Company that had circumvented the wiles of Oriental potentates, that had survived the treacherous tactics of Portuguese, Dutch, and French rivals in the

Orient, that had survived the oppression of English monarchs, failed to see that they were now facing an intangible peril—a puritanism backed by moral principles.

What they saw in America was a rich tea market fast disappearing, for the consumption of tea in the British colonies was some 3,000 chests, approximately a million pounds annually, an amount of considerable importance to the East India Company.

The full force of the tea-tax revolt centered at Boston, at that time the center of the religious, moral, and intellectual life of the colonies. Though this city of fewer than 16,000 inhabitants was the cultural center of the colonies, Boston streets were unpaved and Boston buildings small and unpretentious. The strength of Boston rested in these days, not in its material prosperity, but in the moral fiber of its citizens. Aristocratic Bostonians of that period valued above all else unostentatious living, sobriety, thrift, and integrity of character.

Men like Samuel Adams, the spokesman of the people, and Thomas Hutchinson, the colonial governor, were typical of the community. Both Hutchinson and Adams had attended Harvard College, the intellectual training school of the colonies; to have their sons graduate from one of the two colonial colleges, Yale or Harvard, was the goal of every New England family. That the American colonists had two institutions of higher learning patterned after the great colleges of England was due, ironically enough, to the support of two men who had amassed fortunes in the services of the very East India Company which their graduates were destined to oppose.

Of them, one, the young clergyman, John Harvard, after inheriting a tidy fortune acquired by relatives in the Far East, moved in 1636 from England to Boston. Upon his death the following year, his will revealed that he had left one-half of his estate and 320 books—a valuable contribution in those days—to be used to complete the construction of a half-finished school which was named Harvard College in his honor.

Similarly the second seat of learning, later to grow into Yale

College, was built by the wealth, also acquired in India, of Elihu Yale, once governor of Madras. Although suspended from his gubernatorial office in India in 1692, his shortcomings appear to have been forgotten, for in 1699 Yale, who had returned to London, was made governor of the East India Company. Through a personal appeal for funds made to him by Cotton Mather, Elihu Yale was persuaded to donate from his private stock, books, pictures, and East India commodities which were sold for £500. This capital, a generous fortune for the times, was used to endow a college in his honor.

To the Yale- and Harvard-trained Bostonians, who formed the vanguard of the tea-tax rebels, the issue was far more serious than was indicated by the superficial gesture of banishing tea from their houses. On October 18, 1773, their protests were legally recorded in a resolution declaring that the tea tax had been enacted without the consent of the colonists and that everyone concerned in the unloading, receiving, and vending of tea was thereby declared an enemy to his country. Owners or occupants of stores were also warned not to handle or sell tea at the risk of being classed as public enemies.

Anti-tea literature poured from the press. The comparatively mild beverage was labeled a "badge of slavery," a "nauseous draft"; and such epithets as detestable, cruel, villainous, fatal, fiendish, and dangerous, were freely used by the conservative New Englanders. Handbills, inciting the public against the tea tax, signed "scaevola" and "alarm," circulated in Philadelphia. The East India Company was branded as "political bombardiers demolishing the fair structure of liberty." The tax was openly denounced as public robbery, and the tea-tax menace called "an enemy of the country."

Soon groups began to form in homes of leading Bostonians to discuss the tea menace. Since 1770, the women, to whom tea-drinking had been the feature of social gatherings, had voted to refrain from its use, and each one had laid aside the delicate cup, plate, and spoon carried to such sociable meetings. No less patriotic was the declaration of these virtuous tea-abstainers, who re-

solved that "we, the daughters of those patriots who have, and do now appear for the public interest, and in that principally regard their posterity, as such do with pleasure engage with them in denying themselves the drinking of foreign tea, in hopes to frustrate a plan that tends to deprive a whole community of all that is invaluable in life," and brewed for themselves a pallid substitute from the leaves of the raspberry plant.

The outstanding group of patriots was not this league of feminine tea-abstainers, but a representative body of three hundred or more Bostonians known as the Sons of Liberty. The Sons met for a time in a small room in Hanover Square where, over their punch, tobacco, cheese, and biscuits, they discussed the burning topic of liberty. Many of the meetings were secret, only those who could give the password being admitted, for Tory spies circulated throughout Boston. Another favorite rendezvous was what came to be known as Liberty Tree, centrally located at Newbury, Orange, and Essex streets, under whose shade public meetings were often held.

At the same time merchants to whom tea had been consigned in America and especially in Boston where the full force of the controversy was centered, were awaiting its arrival with considerable anxiety, as the resolution to oppose England gained ground through an incessant stream of inflammatory letters, pamphlets, speeches, and meetings. Many of these communications were sent to the Company's office by the bewildered consignees of choice bohea. How baffling the situation had grown appears in the following letter:

"To George Dudley, Esquire

"Sir:

"The state and condition of the Honourable Company's Tea is as you will find in the enclosed papers. Unless the Tea Act is repealed no tea can be sold in America. Repeal the Act, and you may dispose of all your teas. The Americans will not be slaves, neither are they to be trapped under the notion of cheap teas. Death is more desir-

able to them than slavery—it is impossible to make the Americans swallow the tea. The Ministry may amuse the Company by telling them their tea shall be sold, and the Act preserved, but they are grossly mistaken. None of it is landed, neither shall it be.

"Your humble servant,
"Anglo Americanus."

Especially affected by the agitation in Boston were the consignees of the East India Company—Thomas and Elisha Hutchinson, relatives of Governor Hutchinson, Benjamin Faneuil, Joshua Winslow, and Richard Clarke and Sons. After receiving many threatening letters and requests to sever their relations with the London merchants, they were finally warned to attend on November third a meeting called by the Sons of Liberty. When the timid factors failed to appear under Liberty Tree on the day and hour set, a delegation called upon them, warned them that they were guilty of conspiracy, and demanded that they return what East India tea they had in their warehouses. Emphasis was laid on their request by the arrival of a mob who removed the door of their warehouses but did not harm the factors. Thoroughly alarmed, the consignees wrote to London requesting a release from their contract.

By the end of November, events in the tea-tax revolt had reached a climax. On the twenty-eighth Captain Hall, eight weeks' out from London in the *Dartmouth*, sailed into Boston Harbor with 114 chests of tea aboard the vessel. The next day the following notice was posted throughout Boston:

"Friends, brethren, countrymen—The worst of plagues, the detested tea shipped for this port by the East India Company, is now arrived in the harbor. The hour of destruction, or manly opposition to the machinations of tyranny, stares you in the face. Every friend to his country, to himself, and posterity, is now called upon to meet at Faneuil Hall, at nine o'clock this day (at which time the bells will ring) to make a united and successful resistance to this last, worst, and destructive measure of administration."

Aware that the crisis was at hand, the leading citizens of Boston

congregated at Faneuil Hall, then adjourned to the Old South Meeting House. The outcome of this gathering was that the crew of the *Dartmouth* was not allowed to land, the tea was not permitted to be unloaded, and guards patrolled the waterfront. Two more ships carrying tea that came in after the *Dartmouth* were also placed under surveillance. Then, for nearly three weeks, ominous quiet pervaded the crooked streets of Boston.

It proved to be merely the lull before the storm. On the evening of December sixteenth, the storm broke. Emerging with a war-whoop from the Old South Church at dusk, a group of what appeared to be sixty or eighty copper-faced Indians traveled silently down Milk Street, Hutchinson Street, past Cow Lane to Griffen's Wharf. They were armed with guns and hatchets, and were so muffled with blankets that their identification was impossible. Swiftly approaching Griffen's Wharf where the *Dartmouth* was tied up at the docks, they boarded Captain Hall's ship, hoisted the cargo from the hold, broke open the chests, and threw the tea into the harbor. Then other ships, also carrying tea, in command of Captains Bruce and Coffin, were visited and pillaged. The work was done quietly and with remarkable efficiency.

When the tea party was finally over, on the water floated 342 chests of tea valued at £18,000 that had been destroyed in less than three hours. By the following day the tides had washed up on the shore masses of tea leaves heavily impregnated with salt water. The Bostonians had tacitly decided by this act the relative virtues of tea and independence.

The humorous aspect of the tea party, as well as its serious side, did not escape the pens of local poets. Oliver Wendell Holmes wrote:

"See the fierce natives! What a glimpse
Of paint and fur and feather,
As all at once the full-grown imps
Light on the deck together;
A scarf the pig-tail's secret keeps,
A blanket hides the breeches—
And out the cursed cargo leaps,
And overboard it pitches!"

Another Bostonian poet of the day contributed the patriotic verse:

"Rally Mohawks! bring out your axes
And tell King George we'll pay no more taxes
On his foreign tea."

The news of the "Boston Tea Party" spread like wildfire through the Colonies. At Philadelphia tea ships, even before docking, turned back toward London; at Charlestown 257 chests of tea rotted in the customhouse; at New York ships were forced to leave port. By thus disposing of East India tea the colonists had won a moral victory, and had driven the Company out of the colonial market.

The Gateway into China

WHEN THE *Trades Increase*, the Company's prize East India-man of 1,100 tons burden, was launched at Deptford in 1609 soon after the Company was first chartered, the festive event was celebrated by a unique banquet served on board ship. Neither effort nor expense was spared to make the debut of the *Trades Increase* a gala occasion. The king, who was to christen the ship, was present, as were the queen, the prince, and many members of the nobility. Every luxury the market afforded was provided. The crowning feature of the evening was the table service, a sumptuous new kind of chinaware, more highly prized than silver plate, described by guests as "a most elegant rarity." This superlatively fine Chinese porcelain had been procured by English factors in Java, where they had purchased it from Chinese junks, then reshipped it to England.

Few Londoners except the queen had ever owned any of the rare and exquisite "pursselyn" used upon this occasion. Elizabeth, whose methods of extracting from her subjects valuable tokens of their esteem was known throughout England, had acquired, however, prior to 1600, two Chinese cups. One of these, a white, gold-trimmed porringer, had been presented by Lord Burleigh; the other, a cup of "grene pursselyn," was the gift of Lord Cecil.

Although Queen Elizabeth owned some Chinese "rarities," comparatively little was known in England at this time about mysterious, porcelain-producing Cathay. In seventeenth-century Europe the adventures of the celebrated trio of Venetian travelers, Nicolo, Maffeo, and Marco Polo, who left Italy in 1260 and visited the Chinese court of Kublai Khan, adventures colorfully described in Marco Polo's *Travels*, provided the main source of information

about this spectacular world in the Far East. There Marco Polo saw and described at some length the manufacture of what he called "porcelainware." "For a Venetian groat," he wrote in his *Travels*, "you may purchase eight porcelain cups."

Marco Polo's experiences were the talk of Europe. How much his travels actually contributed to the opening of Oriental trade routes it is impossible to say; yet by the fourteenth century new and comparatively safe trans-desert trade routes were spanning the steppes between Europe and Asia. As long as the Yuan dynasty lasted, the Chinese court threw open its doors to foreign traders, travelers, and adventurers, who braved the hardships of the caravan route to the Far East. But after the Mongol, or Yuan, dynasty collapsed and the antiforeign Mings came into power in 1368, European travel into the Celestial Empire ceased.

It was suddenly revived in 1497 when a sea route to the Far East was discovered by Vasco da Gama. In fact, interest in Marco Polo's Cathay reached new peaks when this bold mariner returned to Lisbon with a hold full of Chinese silks, satins, and porcelains. Da Gama's voyage also paved the way for Portuguese traders who by 1517 had opened a trading post on an island near Canton, and from this center established factories along the Chinese coast as far north as Ningpo.

Unfortunately at Ningpo a group of overzealous Portuguese merchants antagonized the natives with whose business methods they were unable to cope. In revenge the Chinese burned their ships, destroyed their factories, and murdered all those who were unable to escape to Macao. After this disaster Macao became the hub of Portuguese commercial activities in China, forming one of the long series of this nation's trading posts that extended throughout the Orient and provided for the European market silks, porcelains, and spices. This monopoly of Eastern trade was made even stronger in 1580 by the union of Spain and Portugal. By 1600—twenty years later—the Spanish-Portuguese monopoly was affecting the European markets, where complaints were constantly heard about the exorbitant prices charged for spices, silks, and other Far Eastern commodities.

Soon the importance of this highly profitable Eastern commerce induced other nations to compete with their Spanish-Portuguese rivals. In England, Queen Elizabeth's interest in the Orient was so keen after Drake returned from his world travels that when the Levant Company attempted to establish trade with the Far East in 1584, she sent a personal letter to the emperor of China. The letter never reached its destination.

Twelve years later plans were made for another Oriental expedition, this time by sea, by a group of London merchants, and three ships were sent to the Far East in command of Captain Benjamin Wood. Like his predecessor, Wood carried one of Elizabeth's letters, dated July 16, 1596, intended for the emperor of China; in it Elizabeth graciously asked how the Chinese ruler had been able to make the trade of China so world famous, then asked permission for English merchants to trade with Cathay. But the ship that carried this request was wrecked before reaching the coast.

Undaunted, Queen Elizabeth continued to believe that friendly contact might be established with remote, inscrutable Cathay. In the first charter granted by the queen to the East India Company in 1600, as well as the King James charter of 1604, among countries listed with whom England hoped to trade was the land of China. In 1607 a seven-year license was issued by the same king for the discovery of a northwest sea passage that would lead to India, Japan, and Cathay.

That same year Dutch merchants also made their first—and unsuccessful—attempt to trade with China. Their failure led to an unfortunate practice on the part of Dutch traders who now turned pirate to secure Chinese merchandise otherwise unavailable. The results were far-reaching; peace-loving Chinese developed a tenacious and deep-rooted antipathy for all foreigners. "Hollanders," observes an early traveler, "are ill spoken of in each part by means of their continual robbing and pilfering the junks of Chinese which at first they put upon Englishmen, but is now known to the contrary. They are disliked by reason of the great quantity of raw silks and tafities, satins, velvets, and China wares which they steal from the Chinese, having of late robbed many junks, whereby they sell

at such rates that none that cometh truly by their goods can make profit here."

The first English attempts to trade with China came from two widely separated points in the Orient—Bantam and Nagasaki. To these ports in the early days came many Chinese junks from which the East India Company purchased the gold, musk, silks, fine embroideries, green ginger, and chinaware so prized in England. Chinese junks, in return, took on cargoes of English woollens, Coromandel cottons, and miscellaneous commodities, especially elephants' teeth, Japanwood, pepper, coral, lead, and myrrh.

In 1614, fifty-seven chests of Chinese silks and fine Nanking products were shipped from Bantam to England together with a letter from a local factor, Samuel Boyle, in which he says, "there is some likelihood for the procuring and settling of a factory in China which, if effected there, would great profit arise and grow thereby."

Factors not only at Bantam but at other remote ports urged the Company to trade directly with China. "Procure a peaceable trade with China," they wrote to the court of directors, "or else, as the Hollanders doe, trade with them per force." William Eaton, factor at Japan, was even more insistent and in 1616 he wrote to Sir Thomas Smythe in London as follows: "If so be the next year we cannot procure trade with China, which I am in doubt of, that then it would be good to make prize of them, as the Hollanders doe, whom every year doe bring hither a good quantity of silk and China stuffs, the which brings them in money."

A more diplomatic method of securing Chinese business was advocated by Richard Cocks, stationed with Eaton in Japan. In December of that same year he sent to his friend, John Browne, a factor at Patani, this appeal: "I pray you use all Chinas kindly and with respect, if you think them of the better sort, for I am certainly informed that the Emperor of China hath sent spies into all these parts of the world where the English, Dutch, Spaniards, and Portuguese do trade to see their demeanor and how they behave themselves towards the nation. This I write you is no fable, but truth, yet keep it to yourself." Richard Cocks was a friend of the

head of the Chinese colony in Japan, Andrea Dittis, through whose influence he hoped to procure through peaceful channels permission to trade with China.

Yet years elapsed before the East India Company decided to follow the advice of their factors and attempt to trade directly with China. The first official notice relating to the desirability of the China trade appears in this item found in the court minutes of the East India Company for the year 1635, "It were fitt there were some tryall made of the trade of China and Japan, where cloth dyed and dressed may be vented at great prizes and treasure furnished, as the factors doe now advise and formerly."

The first ship commissioned to "make tryall" of the Chinese trade was the *London*, sent out by the Company from Surat. The parting instructions given by President Methwold and the Surat council to the ship's commander, Captain Willis, read:

"On arriving at Macao, permission will no doubt be granted to the three merchants and two or three more to live on shore, to which purpose you shall take a house and cohabit lovingly together. And that no scandall may be given or taken in point of religion (wherein that nation is very tender), let your exercises of devotion be constant, but private, without singing of psalmes, which is nowhere permitted unto our nation in the King of Spaine's domynions, except in ambassadors' houses. In lading the ship, priority should be given to freight goods, but also bring alum, China roots, porcelain, brass, green ginger, sugar, and sugar candy, or silk, silk stuffs, lignum, aloes, camphor, benzoin, gold, pearls, and curiosities."

On July 23, 1635, the *London* dropped anchor off Macao. Irate Portuguese officials threatened at first to send the ship back to Surat, but finally relented when they learned that a cargo from Goa was aboard. The excuse offered by the ship's captain for invading what was acknowledged to be the exclusive terrain of Portugal was his desire to transport to Macao as a favor to the viceroy of Goa, certain merchandise that could not be carried out in Portuguese ships because their enemies, the Dutch, were blockading the straits.

The Portuguese had no choice but to allow the factors and three

attendants, whom they now treated in a friendly and courteous manner, to live ashore. Notwithstanding, trading proved dull at Macao where Chinese merchants failed to offer merchandise because of "the jealousy China's timournesse and shinessse of strangers (strengthened by their superstitious proficies)." Chinese distrust of foreigners, the Englishmen discovered, was based on an ancient legend that foretold that the country would be conquered by gray-eyed foreign invaders.

Leaving Macao on October 20, the *London* reached the west coast of India on her return voyage in January, 1638. From Surat, letters giving a full account of the expedition, "the first that negotiated any of your business in those parts," and the prospects of establishing commercial relations with China, were sent to the court of directors. The *London's* report was not highly favorable. The Portuguese, the Company learned, looked with disfavor on rival traders; Chinese merchants were slow and annoying to deal with; and before ships could procure a permit to trade from the local mandarin, "there must be a sum of money bribitorily given him."

The next English trading venture sent out to China was the expedition from London to Canton in 1637, under a privateer, Captain Weddell. While sailing up the river to Canton, Captain Weddell was stopped by an irate mandarin, into whose ears the Portuguese had already poured unsavory tales about Englishmen in general, and ordered to leave the country. Chinese guns having been trained on the ship, Weddell left hastily for Macao. Although a small cargo of sugar, ginger, silks, and chinaware had been purchased near Canton, yet Weddell's illicit venture had proved costly and unpleasant.

The constitutional indifference of the Chinese to foreign trade was a constant barrier to British merchants. The age-old philosophy of submission, submission to government, parents, and relatives, based on the Confucian code of filial and imperial loyalty that had survived dynasties, changes, and revolutions, a code enforced by positive laws and public opinion, enclosed the Chinese in a self-imposed wall that could not be broken by kings, diplomats, or

merchants. To them any change of habits, innovations of any type, were anathema. Self-sufficient in their home life, in the life of their village, their town, their city, cherishing peace, tranquillity, and security, the Chinese believed that whatever was not Chinese was uncouth, barbarous, and dangerous. For centuries they had fought off foreigners.

The first ship licensed by the East India Company to sail directly from London to China was the *Hinde*. The captain of the *Hinde*, that reached China in 1644, met with even less success than had the privateer Weddell. Only chinaware, he found, could be bought at Portuguese-controlled Macao, where "by Portuguese and Chinese he was injuriously exacted upon."

A more hopeful outlook for the East India Company's commercial activities in China was apparent when England signed a treaty with Portugal in 1654, throwing open to British vessels Portuguese ports, including Macao, in the Far East.

Within the next three years the *King Fernandez* and the *Richard and Martha*, both privateers, traded at Macao. In 1657 the Company proposed to send a group of young English factors to reside in China. The restrictions placed on Chinese trade, nevertheless, were so unpleasant, and the danger of a Dutch-English war in Europe seemed so imminent, that the attempt was abandoned.

In these decades China was controlled by Manchus, and among Manchu restrictions placed on commerce was the edict that British trade should be restricted to the ports. All foreign business, moreover, was to be transacted in accordance with Chinese laws, codes, and customs, and through the graft-demanding hands of a group known as the Co-hong.

In an effort to increase British-Chinese commerce and arrange for a more equable method of conducting business, in January, 1662, Sir George Downing approached Lord Clarendon with the suggestion made by the Company that the crown attempt to acquire Macao. Unfortunately for the Company, Downing's views failed to interest Lord Clarendon, who had several more important diplomatic issues pending settlement with Portugal. Notwithstanding, the East India Company continued to search for a

wedge that would open the gates of China. Six years later, when Sir Robert Southwell was appointed envoy extraordinary to Lisbon, the Company came to him with the proposal that the king be persuaded to throw open to British commerce Portuguese ports in the Far East. A similar appeal was also made to the Earl of Sandwich, British representative at Madrid. Both diplomats, however, were unable to further the Company's interests.

Denied the right to trade either through Japanese ports or directly with Canton or Macao, in 1670 the Company decided, since the demand for tea was increasing daily and since Chinese silks and satins and chinaware continued to command a ready market, to attempt to reach China through Cambodia or Formosa. With this end in view, on September 10, 1670, an agreement was signed with the king of Taiwan which gave the East India Company permission to settle a factory on the island of Formosa. In return for this privilege, the Company guaranteed to supply its king with guns, powder, iron, pepper, and woolens at set prices. But in 1573, when the East India Company's ship, *Experiment*, put in to trade at Taiwan, sugar and hides, of which the cargo was to consist, were found to belong exclusively to the king and could not be sold. Three more ships were sent out to Formosa the following year; two, however, were lost at sea, and the third found trading unprofitable.

The Company also attempted to purchase Chinese wares at Tonkin, where a small English factory was established; and although this house remained open for twenty-five years, the local ruler proved so grasping, dishonest, and unreliable that the factory was finally abandoned.

After these ineffectual commercial activities, the East India Company turned its attention to Amoy, one of the finest harbors in southeastern China. In those days Amoy, situated in Fukieng at the mouth of the Kiulung River, was controlled by the king of Formosa, who was on unfriendly terms with the Manchus, the reigning house in China. But at Amoy, where the English opened a factory in 1676, this Chinese-Formosan rivalry soon paralyzed all business. Two years after the factory was opened Coxsin, a Tar-

tar chief, seized Amoy; in 1682 the Chinese were driven from the city, the Company's forts burned, and the factors, whose lives were at stake, forced to take refuge in Tonkin and Bantam.

Throughout these years the goal of the East India Company in China continued to be Canton. In 1678 the court of directors signified for the first time their desire to open an English factory specializing in teas and silks at that port, and directed the governor of Bengal to arrange with the Portuguese viceroy at Goa for a permit for English ships to stop at Macao. Having received this, as well as an invitation from Chinese officials to trade at Canton, in 1682 the *Carolina* set sail for China. But near Canton the *Carolina* was unexpectedly accosted by a group of Manchu officials; then "warr boats and some gentlemen from Canton came out saying a settlement or residence at Canton would never be consented unto"; and the ship was ordered to leave. Taking aboard a clandestine cargo at Lantao, an island near Hongkong, the *Carolina* left for England.

Meanwhile, the English fort at Bantam, readily accessible to China, had become Dutch property, and Surat made the leading port for British commerce in India. This added distance from Surat to Canton proved a barrier to commerce, difficulties developed in the London money market, and the advent of rival traders, known as the English Company, tended to divert for a time the East India Company's interest in China.

Some compensation for the Company's failure to break through the trade barriers at Canton was found in their minor successes at Amoy. After the revolution was over, in July, 1685, ground was rented for a new factory and a brisk trade in tea established. Yet at Amoy, Dutch intrigues caused prices constantly to fluctuate, the Chinese demand for graft seemed insatiable, and local merchants devised ingenious ways to avoid meeting payments.

The Amoy market, despite these annoyances, was of vital importance to the East India Company. Lead and woolen cloth brought from England found a ready market at this port where they were converted into tea, spices, chinaware, and silks. The customary

method of paying for Chinese goods being two-thirds in silver and one-third in goods, English ships usually carried in addition to their own woolens, heavy chests filled with Spanish "rialls of eight."

In 1684 the court of directors ordered the president of Surat to provide a cargo of merchandise to be sold in China. The Surat ship was not allowed to land at Canton; the Portuguese offered the viceroy a bribe of £10,000 to keep the English off the river. Portuguese bribery notwithstanding, several ships subsequently evaded the authorities and traded unmolested at Canton.

Not until 1699 was the gateway into "the most mightie and wealthy empire of China" finally opened. That year the *Macclesfield*, of London, anchored on August 22 off Macao. Here the hoppo, or head customs official, came aboard the *Macclesfield* in a friendly manner, measured the ship, made a low entry rate, and granted the English a pass to trade at Canton. The English factors, carrying the hoppo's permit, then "went privately into the city" to price goods, which they found "much cheaper than they had yet been offered us."

Having sold in Canton the *Macclesfield's* cargo of scarlet and violet-colored cloth, lead, and woolens, valued in England at £5,475 for £12,000, the factors purchased a shipload of raw silks, chinaware, tea, tutenague (i. e., zinc), musk, and taffetas. After remaining in Canton for several months, where they completed arrangements to open a factory, on July 18, 1700, the ship sailed back to England.

The safe return of the *Macclesfield* with her valuable cargo was regarded by the court of directors as a signal victory in China. Confident of ultimately breaking through Chinese trade restrictions, the Company now appointed a president and council, to have full jurisdiction over British trade in the Celestial Empire and on adjacent islands, and to reside in China. The Company's choice as head of this newly created post was Allan Catchpoole.

President Catchpoole's instructions and letters of appointment, dated November 23, 1699, directed him to settle in China, preferably at Nanking, and to concentrate all his efforts to establish a

market for English woollens. The council selected to assist him was to consist of four merchants, two factors, five writers, a minister, a surgeon, and five English servants.

But when Mr. Catchpoole reached the coast, the Chinese authorities refused to allow him to settle in the interior, and forced him to locate at Chusan, a port to which English ships came infrequently and which, together with Amoy and Canton, was the only port used thus far by the East India Company. The new president remained for a short time at Chusan, then, finding his position untenable, moved with his council to the island of Pulo Condore, a spice center, where a fortified factory was erected with the co-operation of the natives.

One obstacle that complicated Anglo-Chinese trade relations at this time was the rivalry of the London and English companies, whose competitive bidding not only raised prices in the Orient, but also glutted the London market with wares priced too high to sell. The amalgamation of the rival companies in 1708 checked this unfortunate competition at a time when the English demand for tea was finally placing Chinese commerce on a secure and profitable basis.

In fact, by 1720 tea had become so important that it threatened to exceed the demand for silk. Tea was purchased at this time at Canton, by supercargoes sent out on English ships, from what was known as the Co-hong, a group of merchants who, much to the annoyance of the English traders, decided at what price Chinese goods should be sold. The Co-hong system was distinctly unpopular with British supercargoes; the graft, bribes, extra charges, and strange taxes exacted by this group caused endless argument, friction, and ill feeling.

The flush days of the tea trade soon brought in its wake a new Chinese menace—the Interloper. The leading Interlopers in the early decades of the seventeenth century were the Ostenders, a group licensed by the emperor of Austria ostensibly to trade between Ostend, the Netherlands, and India, but actually to compete with the British tea trade in China.

Among pseudo-Viennese Ostenders were many English mer-

chants whose task was to smuggle tea across the Channel from Holland into England. Season after season rival Ostenders and East Indiamen raced from Europe to Canton to outbid their rivals at the annual tea auctions. The activities of these Flemish competitors created one of the most difficult problems faced at this time by the East India Company. "Cost what it will," read court instructions for 1720, "we must try to make these Interlopers sick of their voyages for tea."

To what extent these Interlopers demoralized the Chinese tea trade by their unethical practices is disclosed in a protest made by Canton tea brokers, who confided to the English factors that "the Emperor's Ostend ships would shortly be the ruin of the place, that they had no regard to their words; and some of them who came early one year had contracted for 1500 peculs of tea more than they could carry, in hopes to make a prey of the ships that followed; and that not succeeding, went away, and left it upon the merchant's hands, to his utter ruin."

For their own self-protection, in 1720 the Co-Hong drew up an agreement designed to check abuses, promote foreign trade, and aid English traders, a compact that was made "after the most sacred manner, by going before one of their idols and there swearing, sacrificing a cock, and drinking its blood."

Dutch competition, together with the heavy outlay required for graft and bribes to officials and mandarins, who expected a bonus of at least 10 per cent of the value of whatever was imported or exported, made the cost of procuring Chinese tea a heavy drain on the East India Company. At Canton, furthermore, so many obstacles were placed in the way of factors attempting to carry on business that many refused to reside there.

In addition to these inconveniences, all traffic in opium, which had produced considerable additional revenue for the Company, was prohibited in 1729 by imperial edict. So heavy a penalty was imposed on those violating the antiopium law, the penalty "being no less than ye confiscation of ships and cargoes to the Emperor, as well as death to the person who should dare offer it to you," that the Company instructed its servants not to handle it.

Between 1730 and 1740, English trade centered at Amoy and Canton, where a few English ships traded annually. In 1757 radical changes in foreign policy were introduced by the emperor, Chien Lung. English trade was now allowed by imperial edict only at Canton, Chusan, Lingpao, and Amoy being closed to foreign ships. Furthermore, extra taxes were imposed at this time on exports, and the introduction or sale of European guns, arms, and ammunition was prohibited in the Celestial Empire. Thus the only ports at which the East India Company's ships could now dock were the Portuguese settlement of Macao and the Chinese port of Canton, 90 miles up the river.

During the reign of K'ien Lung, the great poet and warrior who led his troops into Nepal and within 60 miles of the British frontier in India during the days of Cornwallis, a reign that lasted from 1735 to 1795, foreign trade in China reached its peak. Trade flourished; Portuguese, Dutch, and English ships, and after 1767 those of the French East India Company, were now visiting Canton at regular intervals.

But as commerce increased, restrictions and regulations placed by the Co-hong on foreign vessels became more and more drastic. English supercargoes in particular found these petty problems so annoying that in 1770 a council of five members was appointed by the court of directors to reside in China and relieve supercargoes of many of the small details connected with Co-hong regulations. This council was advised to follow carefully the rules laid down by the court of directors for their conduct. To avoid giving offense to Chinese habits, traditions, and customs, the council was told "not to break open the graves, nor in any way molest the Chinese, and to keep the ship's company within the bounds of sobriety and decency so as not to give offense to the Chinese government."

At Canton the council and staff lived uncomfortably in four adjoining houses, unpleasantly near the Chinese, and exposed to "mortification and insult from the Portuguese," by whom they were molested for the most trifling offenses. Ships' supercargoes could now remain at Canton only long enough to discharge or take on cargo, and were then forced to sail back to Macao. Every ship

that anchored in the Pearl River near Canton was also required as before to secure a permit before trading in the city.

A more definite attempt to promote friendly trade relations between England and China was made in 1787 by the British government, which sent an embassy, headed by Lieutenant Colonel Charles Cathcart, to Peking on a mission of good will. Cathcart's main task in China was to negotiate for a cession to England of a port where Englishmen might live, carry on business, and be subject to their own English laws. Unfortunately Cathcart died on the way to China, before his mission was accomplished.

In 1773 a second embassy, this time under the leadership of Lord George Macartney, an able diplomat who had been chief secretary to Ireland and governor of Fort St. George, was appointed to the court at Peking. Chinese trade at the time of Macartney's visit was coming rapidly to the foreground as an important factor in the East India Company's ventures. In addition to larger cargoes of tea, Canton brokers were already shipping to England bales of beaver fur and sea otter sent to China from America, while ships outbound to China carried in their holds woolens, lead, and tin.

The English government, gratified by the amazing strides made in Chinese commerce, and recognizing the need to impress the imperial ruler with the wealth and importance of Great Britain, provided Lord Macartney with a retinue of ninety-five members and presents valued at £13,000 sterling. The embassy reached Peking on August 21, 1793, and presented the letter sent by King George III to the emperor. But K'ien Lung's reply was so evasive and unconciliatory that, finding the door definitely closed to diplomatic overtures, the embassy left China.

One cause of the cold reception received by Lord Macartney at the imperial court was the opium situation in China. For years English traders, openly defying the Company's orders, had been dealing in this illegal drug banned by imperial edict, shipping it through agents from Bengal to Macao. Not long after Macartney's visit, on December 2, 1797, a second imperial edict was issued forbidding the sale of opium in China. Still the illicit trade continued.

Meanwhile a new ruler, Kiak'ung, came to the Chinese throne. Although the son of the scholarly K'ien Lung, he lacked his father's genius for government. Revolutions which he could not hold in check broke out in the northwestern provinces soon after he reached the throne, while the coast was infested with a highly organized group of pirates whose depredations the entire imperial fleet was unable to restrain. This regime of confusion and disorder materially affected British trade, and increased the abuse to which the Company's factors and supercargoes, the so-called "foreign devils," were constantly subjected.

In an effort to check the unjust treatment meted out to "foreign devils," in 1816 Lord Amherst was sent on another mission of good will to Peking. Before the British envoy was allowed to visit the capital, however, awkward questions of precedence and rank were raised, that ended in the refusal of Lord Amherst to make an official kowtow, or low bow, to the emperor. Still another embassy under Lord Napier was sent out in 1834, the year after the East India Company's exclusive trade monopoly expired, and the Chinese market was thrown open to all British ships, but, owing to the opium situation and the death of Lord Napier in Macao, this again was a failure.

Since the antagonism toward English opium traders was growing more and more bitter, in 1839 Captain Charles Elliot, British agent at Canton, induced all British vessels in port which had any opium aboard to give up the drug. On April 3, at his request, 20,283 chests of opium were delivered to the mandarin, by whom it was destroyed.

This friendly gesture on the part of Great Britain, however, came too late to avert what was known as the Opium War, which broke out in 1840 between England and China. After several naval encounters had been fought, the British army, led by Sir Hugh Gough, forced the Chinese to retreat. Hongkong, by the treaty of peace that followed, now became a British possession. By another agreement, the treaty of 1842, Amoy, Fuchow, Ningpo, and Shanghai were thrown open to English vessels, and an indemnity of \$21,000,000 paid England by China.

Several years of unmolested trade followed; then, in 1857, a second Anglo-China war was declared. Canton was captured soon after by British forces and in May, 1858, the Taku forts taken. Negotiations conducted on behalf of England by Lord Elgin ended in a tentative treaty of 1858 that was finally ratified two years later. By this treaty foreigners were allowed for the first time to travel freely in China, the teaching of Christianity was permitted, and the long-sealed gateway into China was opened.

Spanning the Pacific

EARLY IN OCTOBER, 1780, two ships dropped anchor some 50 miles from London in the Nore. Small boats passing by recognized them as the *Resolution* and the *Discovery*, home-bound after a lengthy voyage lasting four years, two months, and twenty-two days that had carried them into the far corners of the Pacific. Soon word flashed throughout London that Captain James Cook's party was in port.

The expressions of joy that greeted Cook's seamen were turned to sorrow, however, when relatives and friends learned of the tragedies that had befallen the travelers. To the crowds that gathered around him Captain Gore, now in command, told how their leader, Cook, had been foully murdered by treacherous natives at Kealahukua Bay in February, 1779; how, six months later, James Clerke, who had assumed command upon Cook's death, unable to withstand the rigors of the North Pacific, had died near Alaska. Then he told of the vast stretches of heavily timbered, mountainous lands discovered in remote sections of the North Pacific. He described how Captain Cook discovered a fine port surrounded by Indian dwellings where they procured furs of extraordinary value, including certain pelts "finer and softer than that of any others we know of."

This sheltered inlet on the northwest coast where sailors had bartered cheap trinkets for valuable furs, he continued, had been named by their leader King George's Sound. The natives, he explained to his wide-eyed audience, called it in their unintelligible jargon Nootka-sitl, meaning "to go around." All his men, he added, were eager to return immediately to these remote shores of North America that held promise of unlimited riches, unexploited, up to this time, by Europeans.

But what Cook and his men had believed was virgin terrain had already been visited by other travelers. Decades before Cook's day, Russian explorers had been moving cautiously into the North Pacific, across the ice-clogged strait that separates Kamchatka from northwest America. As early as 1728, Vitus Bering, leaving St. Petersburg in 1725, had reached the narrow passage leading to Alaska, only to be forced back to Kamchatka by dense gray banks of fog that blinded his ship's course. Then came further expeditions led by the indomitable Dane, in the employ of Russia, who dreamed of exploring and charting the entire west coast of America, of opening up fur trade with the natives, of forming a great trading company.

Bering's dreams of empire failed to crystallize; they were buried with him in 1741 in his sandy grave on Bering Island where, half-starved and discouraged, he had died of malignant fever. But before he passed away he gave to the world at large knowledge of a small, furry creature that was destined to revolutionize commercial activities in the North Pacific. This was the *enhydra lutris*, or sea otter, whose fur, a rich glossy black showing silver at the base, was soft and luxuriant. Pelts of this fur were usually 5 feet long and 2 or 3 feet wide; two were adequate for a generous-sized garment. To the surprise of the Russian sailors who killed many of these sea otter on Bering Island, Chinese merchants paid what seemed to them fortunes for these pelts.

In the years following Bering's voyages, the lavish profit to be derived from the Alaskan fur trade was the incentive behind a series of Russian trading voyages that crossed the Pacific to Alaska. The outcome of these commercial ventures was the organization in Siberia in 1790 of a large fur-trading company with factories at Kodiak Island and Cook's Inlet under the management of Alexander Baranov. Nine years later Baranov's group was consolidated with a great Russian-American Company with headquarters at New Archangel, or Sitka, which had a monopoly of all trade north of the fifty-fifth parallel.

Spanish as well as Russian expeditions were also exploring the northwest coast before Cook's epoch-making voyage. In fact, only a few years earlier, in 1774, the tiny Spanish corvette, *Santiago*, in

command of Don Juan Perez, and piloted by Estevan Martinez, had put in at several points along the coast of Vancouver Island, naming one of these anchorages, in or near Nootka Harbor, San Lorenzo.

Four years later, in March, 1778, Cook, the first Englishman to penetrate into the dangerous, fog-bound areas of the North Pacific, reached Nootka Harbor and dropped anchor near a prosperous-looking Indian settlement. An old Nootkan legend recounts that when the natives saw Cook's vessels in the distance they believed the British captain was an enchanted salmon, a belief that was not dispelled until the gallant leader approached and offered the local chief, Maquinna, a gift of two black blankets. This magnanimous gesture on Cook's part won the confidence of the chief, who, after presenting the captain with two magnificent beaver skins, invited him to remain as his guest at the Indian village. As a further token of his esteem and friendship, in honor of the Englishman's arrival Maquinna ordered his warriors to perform their ceremonial wolf dance.

Relations of a cordial and friendly nature having thus been established with the Nootkan chieftain, Cook decided to remain four weeks in King George's Sound. While there he careened and repaired his ships, rested after his many months of arduous travel, and traded with the crowds of Indians who encircled his ships day after day, offering him pelts and native products in exchange for glass beads and sundry trinkets.

Although Cook's main mission—to locate the Northwest Passage, known for centuries as the mysterious Straits of Anian, a waterway believed to link the Atlantic and Pacific oceans somewhere in the vicinity of Canada—had been a failure, yet during his sojourn at Nootka the English leader laid the foundations for a new industry that was destined to revolutionize commercial activities in Europe, Asia, and North America.

Furs procured at Nootka and along the northwest coast by Cook's crew were carried by the *Resolution* and the *Discovery* on their return voyage to Canton, where, as with Bering's Russian sailors, a surprise awaited them. A lucid account of what took place

at the Canton Hong where at that time all foreign goods were sold at auction is found in Cook's *Voyages*:

"One of our seamen sold his stock, alone, for eight hundred dollars, and a few prime skins, which were clean, and had been well preserved, were sold for one hundred and twenty each. The whole amount of the value, in specie and goods, that was got for the furs in both ships, I am confident, did not fall short of two thousand pounds sterling; and it was generally supposed that at least two-thirds of the quantity we had originally got from the Americans were spoiled and worn out, or had been given away, and otherwise disposed of, in Kamchatka. When, in addition to these facts, it is remembered that the furs were, at first, collected without our having any idea of their real value; that the greatest part had been worn by the Indians, from whom we purchased them; that they were afterward preserved with little care, and frequently used for bed-clothes, and other purposes, during our cruise to the North; and that, probably, we had never got the full value of them in China; the advantages that might be derived from a voyage to that part of the American coast, undertaken with commercial views, appears to me of a degree of importance sufficient to call for the attention of the public.

"The rage with which our seamen were possessed to return to Cook's River, and by another cargo of skins, to make their fortunes, at one time was not far short of mutiny; and I must own I could not help indulging myself in a project which the disappointment we had suffered, in being obliged to leave the Japanese archipelago, and the northern coast of China, unexplored, first suggested, and by what I conceived that object might still be happily accomplished, through means of the East India Company, not only without expense but even with the prospect of very considerable advantages."

At Canton officers as well as men were seized with the gold fever and the urge to return to this land of furs. Many of Cook's group were destined to see their wishes realized; the mate, Nathaniel Portlock, the armorer, George Dixon, a midshipman, James Col-

nett, and a young American called Ledyard finally returned to America.

When the amazing tale of Captain Cook's third expedition was published in 1784 in London in three volumes, accompanied by a large atlas of views, maps, and charts, a comprehensive account was available for the first time of Nootka, and the northwest coast of America, including a detailed account of how the natives lived, what furs they collected, and what goods could be used with the greatest success for barter with the local Indians.

Of the utmost importance was the recommendation made in these volumes by James King, who continued the account of the expedition after Cook's death, to the effect that the East India Company should enter the fur trade and at the same time continue explorations in the Far North. Each ship, he observed, could easily bring back 250 skins of sea otter valued at \$100 each, a total of \$25,000. Other furs, it was learned from Cook's expedition, in demand at the Canton market, where they were purchased and sent throughout the Celestial Empire to rich mandarins whose garments often cost as much as \$1,000 each, were beaver, marten, sable, ermine, fox, wolf, wolverine, and bear. Nootkan furs, being superior to those found elsewhere, brought top prices at this Chinese market.

This detailed account of Captain Cook's visit to King George's Sound focused the attention of English merchants on this new fur El Dorado. The British mercantile group now saw for the first time the possibility of developing a tri-cornered traffic, whereby East India merchantmen could carry out woolens, trinkets, and metals for barter, take on full cargoes of furs at Nootka, sell them at the Canton Hong, and invest the profits in cargoes of teas, silks, and ivories for the British market. Interest in North Pacific furs was further stimulated in England at this period by the fact that the East India Company, having lost one of their major markets in the American colonies, needed new markets to supplant them.

The one barrier to this activity was the fact that the rich northwest coast was not free and open to British merchants and traders. This was an age of monopolies; the South Sea Company, chartered



Charles Lamb, who clerked at the East India House, 1792--1825.
From a painting by Henry Meyer made in 1826

in 1711, had already been granted a monopoly of British trade with South America and the Pacific Basin. Despite serious losses in 1720 that had left the Company almost bankrupt, it retained its exclusive privileges until the first decade of the nineteenth century. From England to China, trading privileges were in the control of the powerful East India Company. Thus ships crossing the Pacific had to operate either as subsidiaries or licensees of these two great organizations, or sail without license as freebooters. In the last decades of the eighteenth century both courses were followed by fur-trading expeditions bound for the northwest coast.

Among prominent Britishers whose interest was aroused, upon Cook's return, by the possibilities of a lucrative fur market were Sir Joseph Banks, Lord Mulgrave, and other members of the English nobility. Backed by this group of noblemen, John and Richard Cadman Etches, prominent London merchants, now formed what was known as the King George's Sound Company to promote the fur trade between Nootka and Canton. Since the South Sea and East India companies controlled this area, the new company operated as a subsidiary under special licenses from these two organizations.

Men who had sailed under Captain Cook were selected to head the first expedition sent out by the King George's Sound Company, which had made elaborate plans to establish a fort at Nootka. At the helm of the *King George*, as she sailed from England on August 29, 1785, was Nathaniel Portlock; in command of the sister-ship, the *Queen Charlotte*, was George Dixon. Fortunately both men kept elaborate records, which were published in 1789, of their experiences at Nootka and which afford a lucid portrait of the life of a pioneer fur-trader.

But before the *King George* and the *Queen Charlotte* reached their destination, a young English trader, Captain James Hanna, set sail in April, 1785, from the Typa River in China in a small brig of 60 tons for Nootka, reaching there in August. Upon his return to Canton, Hanna's vision and daring were rewarded when the 560 sea-otter skins carried in his ship's hold sold in the local fur market on March 21, 1786, for \$20,600. Encouraged by this

success, in May, 1786, Hanna made a second voyage in a larger vessel appropriately named the *Sea Otter*, returning to Canton in March of the following year. But this time, in the great spring auction of furs at the Hong, his 400 pelts, apparently of an inferior quality, netted only \$8,000.

Hanna's furs reached China before those brought back by the newly formed King George's Sound Company, whose ships, under Portlock and Dixon, did not reach Nootka until the fall of 1786. But when the *King George* and the *Queen Charlotte* finally arrived at the Chinese fur market, they carried a total of 2,552 sea-otter skins, as well as a miscellaneous assortment of beaver, marten, and fox. The sale of these Nootkan furs took place in December, 1787; the proceeds, some \$54,857, were delivered to the East India Company's select committee, which managed the financial affairs for that body, and which used the proceeds in purchasing tea for the London market.

Less fortunate was the East India Company's first expedition, the *Lark*, Captain Peters, which was sent out in 1786 to establish a trade route between Macao and Alaska, which was lost at sea.

Another expedition of this period, one that was inspired, like that of Portlock and Dixon, by the results of Captain Cook's third voyage, was that of James Charles Strange. In 1785, this young Scotsman, who had been in the employ of the East India Company at Madras, was on furlough in England, where he saw and read Cook's newly published narrative. As he read, he had visions of extending the activities of the East India Company to the northwest coast, visions that seemed both practical and possible.

Returning to Madras that same year, he placed before members of the East India Company plans, or as he termed them outlines, for outfitting a trading expedition to the northwest coast of America. The expedition, as planned, was to be financed by its originator and a rich merchant named David Scott, from whom Strange was able to borrow £10,000 to invest in the venture. The contribution of the East India Company was to be in the form of men, guns, supplies, and articles of barter.

Leaving Bombay on December 8, 1785, under the East India

Company's flag, the *Captain Cook*, in command of Captain Lowrie, and the *Experiment*, Captain Guise, reached King George's Sound on July 6 of the following year, dropping anchor in Friendly Cove. At the Indian settlement nearby they purchased from Cook's old friend, Chief Maquinna, a small wooden hut into which several sick members of the crew were placed to convalesce after the long voyage. Nearby a garden of green herbs and vegetables was planted with seeds brought from Europe.

Strange next turned his attention to the main object of his long voyage, the purchase of choice Nootkan pelts, a task that proved, if his *Journal* is to be believed, highly distasteful.

"The furs indeed seem'd to me to be a sort of sanctuary for the Vermin, to which they resorted from Persecution. I had often seen the privilege of eating the live stock of a very lousy head, the subject of much serious altercation between three or four different persons; whereas I at no time perceived them to be object of pursuit or contention, when once they had taken refuge in the Furr. Besides the live stock with which I found the Furrs to abound, I had further to disencumber them from every other possible description of filth whatever. However disgusting this employment was, yet it was a task which I willingly undertook, as I conceived it a duty particularly incumbent on me to perform—unskilfull, as it may well be supposed I was, in the art of dressing skins, yet the process they underwent in my hands was such as, from the testimony of the merchants who inspected them at Canton, tended greatly to enhance their value beyond what they would otherwise have been estimated at had they not been thus taken care of."

Carrying a full cargo of these uncleanly pelts, on July 28 Strange, after arranging to leave his surgeon, John Mackay, with Maquinna for the winter, left Nootka for China. The cargoes of the *Captain Cook* and the *Experiment* reached the Canton market a month after those of Captain Hanna's second expedition, where 604 pelts sold for \$24,000. Notwithstanding, profits did not compensate for the amount invested, and the expedition, from a commercial angle at least, was considered a failure. Yet Strange contributed materially to the promotion of the northwest fur trade, and his *Journal*, subse-

quently presented to the East India Company (in 1788) added valuable information to the literature of fur trading.

Later, in the summer of 1787, another shipment of Nootkan furs reached China aboard the *Imperial Eagle*, Captain Charles William Barkley. Again high prices were recorded for furs when 800 pelts brought \$30,000. Barkley, or Barclay, was a young London merchant who, to avoid the expense of obtaining a license from the East India Company, procured an East India merchantman, the *Londoun*, of 400 tons burden, and changed its name to the *Imperial Eagle*. This hardy adventurer of twenty-five invested £3,000 in the venture. In the summer of 1786, he set sail from Ostend, accompanied by his young bride of seventeen, who has left a graphic account of their experiences. Upon reaching Nootka in June, 1787, Barclay, who had been an officer of the East India Company, met John Mackay, by whom he was assisted in procuring some furs of fine quality and high value.

Near Nootka he also met a young lieutenant of the English navy, John Meares, who was representing another ambitious venture of this period sponsored by a group known as the Bengal Fur Society. This company, founded in India, was backed by some of the most prominent members of Bengal, including Sir John Macpherson, with the purpose of engaging in the fur and sea trade and "to explore new regions of trade." In his extremely entertaining account of his experiences, a volume which, incidentally, was dedicated to Lord Hawkesbury, president of the board of trade in London, Meares mentions especially the patriotic spirit of the many distinguished persons at Bengal who supported it. Meares was also among the first to indicate the importance of the whale industry.

Meares had been sent out to America in 1786 by the Bengal Fur Society in charge of the *Nootka*, a ship of 200 tons burden. With the *Nootka* was a smaller vessel, the *Sea Otter*, in command of William Tipping. In the fall of that same year the ship reached Nootka, where they acquired a cargo of pelts from the tribes on Vancouver Island, and, returning to Canton in the fall of 1787, sold them at auction.

The second voyage of Meares, made soon after his return to

Canton, was a more extensive venture. This involved the formation of a new company, backed by merchants connected with the East India Company who wished to engage in an independent voyage. Adequate funds were raised at this time to purchase and outfit two new ships, the *Felice* and the *Iphegenie*. To avoid the necessity of purchasing trading licenses from the South Sea and East India Companies, the vessels sailed under the Portuguese flag.

The Bengal Fur Society issued full instructions to John Meares, leader of what was commonly known as the John Company, as he set sail in the spring of 1788 on his second voyage to America. He was urged to propagate on shore the miscellaneous livestock, poultry, hogs, goats, cows, and sheep his ship carried; and to procure whale oil, whale bone, pearls, and coral, in addition to his main cargo of smoked sea-otter pelts.

Undoubtedly this voyage, that reached Nootka on May 25, is the most important of these early mercantile ventures, for at this time the Nootka chief, Maquinna, granted the Bengal Fur Society land for a factory. Meares, in return, gave the friendly chief English cloth, pistols, and many small trinkets. On this ground, procured from the affable native chieftain, a house was now built for the traders Meares intended to leave when he returned to China.

This was the first English factory established on the west coast of America; in his *Journal* Meares thus describes it:

"On the ground floor there was ample room for the coopers, sail-makers, and other artisans to work in bad weather; a large room was also set apart for the stores and provisions, and the armourer's shop was attached at one end of the building and communicated with it. The upper story was divided into an eating room and chambers for the party. On the whole, our house, though it was not built to satisfy a lover of architectural beauty, was admirably well calculated for the purpose for which it was destined, and appeared to be a structure of uncommon magnificence to the natives of King George's Sound. A strong breastwork was thrown up round the house, enclosing a considerable area of ground which, with a cannon placed so as to command the cove and village of Nootka, formed a secure fortification. Within a short distance of

the breastwork was laid the keel of a vessel of 40 or 50 tons. In short, every preparation was made for an extended occupation of the place."

The preparations for a new fort and the launching of a small ship, the *Northwest America*, which Meares had built, occupied the days of the men on shore while the crews of the *Felice* and the *Iphegenie* sailed up and down the coast attempting to secure special trading privileges from neighboring chieftains.

In the fall, Maquinna's promise to protect the fort, men, and supplies in his territory having been secured, on September 24 Meares returned to China, leaving Captain Douglas with the *Iphegenie* and the *Northwest America* in charge of the post, with instructions to winter at the Sandwich Islands. Whether Meares aspired to follow in the footsteps of Clive and found an empire over which he could rule, with Nootka as a base, is a matter of conjecture; but it seems probable that he hoped to build up a great trans-Pacific fur traffic.

The fruits of Meare's second voyage exceeded all expectations; the cargo of the *Felice*, marketed in the fall of 1788, proved highly lucrative.

"The commerce between Great Britain and the empire of China," he wrote, "is altogether of such importance that an investigation of those causes which operate to continue the balance of trade against us, and which may lead to a discovery of the means not only to diminish that balance, but to turn it in our favor, will, I trust, be favorably received by the public; and, in a particular manner, by that great commercial body, the Honourable East India Company. It is, indeed, but justice to declare that much has already been done by them; at the same time truth compels me to observe that much yet remains to be done, not only in giving every possible augmentation to the exports of this country, but in opening new channels of commerce wherever and whenever opportunity offers to accomplish such a desirable object."

Meares was among the first to recognize the need for more ports for trade, especially in northern China, Korea, and Japan, and the possibility of diverting the fur trade out of Russian and into Eng-

lish hands. He saw as well the significance of the fact that Chinese merchants would travel a thousand miles or more from Peking to procure superfine Nootka pelts for use in North China, and choice woolens brought in by the Company from England, which were superior to any purchased elsewhere.

At Canton John Meares found two ships, the *Prince of Wales* and the *Princess Royal*, outfitted in London by the same firm that had backed Portlock and Dixon, bound for Nootka carrying licenses from the East India and South Sea companies. Fortunately John Etches accompanied one of the vessels as supercargo, and with him Meares entered into an agreement to pool their resources and purchase a large ship, the *Argonaut*. Meares was now legally protected and absolved of freebooting. After sending the *Prince of Wales* back to England with a cargo of teas, he ordered the *Princess Royal* and the *Argonaut* to sail for King George's Sound.

This joint-stock venture, which pooled the combined resources of the Bengal Fur Society of India and the King George's Sound Company of London, was the most important move made up to this time to engage in the trans-Pacific fur trade. The *Argonaut* carried in her hold articles for barter sufficient for three years, seventy Chinese to help populate the Nootkan fort, and many craftsmen. To lead the expedition and manage the young colony, the directors selected James Colnett, who was ordered to enlarge the fort and build a suitable residence for himself at Nootka.

In April, the month that Colnett's ships left China, the *Iphegenie* and the *Northwest America* returned to their fort at Nootka after wintering at the Sandwich Islands. Here, much to their surprise, they found two American trading vessels, the *Columbia* and the *Lady Washington*, carrying six Boston merchants, at anchor in the harbor. Then, on May 6, a large Spanish warship, the *Princesa*, Captain Don Estevan Martinez, manned with twenty-six guns, appeared; she was followed a week later by the *San Carlos*, also carrying cannon. Their appearance bore all the aspect of preparation for war.

Their mission was soon evident. On the fourteenth the Spanish commander, Don Martinez, informed Captain Douglas that he car-

ried orders to seize all English vessels found on the coast and imprison all Englishmen. Then, after he had captured Captain Douglas, his men took the ship *Iphigenie*, and removed the Englishmen to his own vessel. His next act was to hoist the Spanish flag over the English fort, declaring that all lands between Cape Horn and the sixtieth parallel belonged to Spain. The *Northwest America*, coming into port a few days later, was also seized by Martinez.

Meanwhile, unaware of these international complications, Captain Hudson, in charge of the *Princess Royal*, and James Colnett, of the *Argonaut*, were sailing at full speed across the Pacific to Nootka. Both ships were seized as they entered port and the leader, Colnett, threatened with death if he attempted to resist. The shock of Martinez' action and the strain of imprisonment were more than Colnett could endure; he went violently insane and made several attempts to take his life.

After allowing the *Iphigenie* with a small crew to return to China, the English officers and seamen were taken in irons to San Blas.

According to the records of the East India Company on May 30, 1791, the *Argonaut*, Captain Colnett, reached China. Rumors at the time said that Colnett had received from the viceroy of Mexico some \$40,000 compensation and damages. The *Argonaut*, however, still carried her sea-otter pelts, which, unfortunately, could not be sold locally owing to an order of March 13, 1791, that prohibited the importation of pelts. This regulation was aimed at the Russians, with whom the Chinese emperor was on unfriendly terms, and from whose trade, he believed, all pelts coming from America were purchased. The ship was detained in port until December 2, then released and her furs carried to England as a private venture.

The capture of these vessels and the indignities suffered by the English leaders now became the subject of a lengthy international controversy centering around Nootka, over the respective territorial rights of England and Spain on the northwest coast. As the result of a long series of conferences, a convention was finally signed at

London, on February 12, 1793, whereby Spain agreed to pay \$210,000 to Meares for his losses.

While the Nootka controversy was agitating court circles in London and Madrid, developments were taking place on the northwest coast. Mackenzie and Fraser were pushing westward to the Pacific; the Northwest and Hudson's Bay companies were monopolizing the fur trade of western Canada. American clipper ships from New England, unhampered by monopolies or special licenses, were making quick trips from the northwest coast to Canton with furs and buying China teas and luxuries for the Boston market. The Russians were competing with furs taken up and down the coast from California to Alaska. The East India Company, discouraged by the Nootka controversy, had dropped out of the American fur market, yet refused to allow competitive English ships to sell furs at the Canton Hong.

This action on the part of the East India Company had two immediate results: Yankee ships absorbed the fur trade on the coast, enriching the coffers of Boston merchants; and the Hudson's Bay and Northwest companies began sending their furs through American agents in American ships to China. American interest in the northwest fur trade appears to have culminated with the organization by John Jacob Astor in 1810 of the American Fur Company, to ship furs from Astoria to China, and tea from China to Boston.

The swift seizure by American vessels of the fur trade of the Pacific was a serious blow to Canadian and English merchants. With it came an even more serious evil than the loss of trade itself—the wave of smuggling that accompanied it. In the first two decades of the nineteenth century tea, silks, and other East India products were poured into Canada and England by American smugglers, trading directly with the East Indies and China.

To remedy this evil, in 1824 a British act was passed authorizing the East India Company to send ships directly from ports in India to British colonies, and after 1825 East India teas and other wares were sold openly in colonial markets. ♦

Although this act of 1824 gave the East India Company a free

and open market in Canada, yet what might have been one of its richest markets, that for west-coast furs and pelts, had passed definitely out of its control. In spite of what Cook advised, what subsidiaries and merchants sailing under the East India Company's flag had tried in vain to establish, the potential wealth that might have poured into their coffers had been lost through the negligence, the indifference, and the shortsightedness of the directors of the great English Company.

Cornwallis

THE TWO DECADES from 1786 to 1805, during which it was the fate of the East India Company to fall under the incomparable leadership of Cornwallis and Wellesley, were the Golden Age of the British in India. What Clive and Hastings had so gloriously won for England was now almost overshadowed by the even greater deeds of those who followed in their wake, by the acts of those who created, on the foundations laid by their predecessors, the sound superstructure of a British empire in India.

As in the past the trend of politics in England had reacted favorably or unfavorably on India, again, with the appointment of Cornwallis as governor-general there was reflected the new, semigovernmental control of the Company's affairs in India. Cornwallis was the first crown appointee to govern India. He had the warm support and personal friendship of George III and Dundas, as well as of Pitt, whose fervent sponsorship of India-affairs had resulted in radical changes in the Company's status. It was through their influence that, "much against his will and with grief of heart," their reluctant candidate consented to accept the governor-generalship of India.

Cornwallis was fortunate in having in India a few years of peace, prior to the outbreak of another European war in 1793, in which to strengthen and consolidate the British position in India. Backed by one of the greatest parties in England, and free from European imbroglios, Cornwallis, during his rule of seven years, may be said to have changed the status of England in India from a position of insecurity to one of stability, strength, and confidence.

Charles Cornwallis, the sixth child and eldest son of the first Earl of Cornwallis, was born in Grosvenor Square on December 31, 1738. After completing his education at Eton, he was thoroughly

schooled in military tactics by several years spent on the Continent and at school in Turin, under the tutelage of a Prussian officer, through whose influence he became aid-de-camp to the Marquis of Granby in Prussia.

In 1759 he returned to England, where he was made captain of the eighty-fifth regiment, and, several years later, aid-de-camp to the king. In recognition of his loyalty and services, in 1776 Cornwallis was placed in command of seven regiments and sent to America. There he participated in the capture of New York and in subsequent campaigns in New Jersey, campaigns in which his outstanding military ability was for the first time recognized. At Yorktown, however, the British commander was forced to capitulate, and remain for some time a prisoner on parole.

Before regaining his freedom, in May, 1782, Cornwallis was offered the governor-generalship of India, an offer he felt obliged to refuse, much to the regret of Pitt and Dundas, who considered him the one man in England equipped to shoulder this responsibility. Again in 1785 he declined a second offer to go out to India; but on February 23, 1786, unable to resist the pressure brought to bear on him to save England's possessions in India, he accepted the appointment of governor-general and commander-in-chief of the East India Company's holdings in India. On September 12, Cornwallis landed at the Chandpal Ghat at Calcutta and, escorted by a bodyguard, walked to the fort.

In Bengal, Cornwallis had several grave problems to face. Among them was the method of collecting revenues, the cornerstone of the Company's prosperity, which was attended by corruption, dishonesty, and malpractice. Such abuses were not confined exclusively to India. In England at this period, even the king's ministers grew rich on graft-burdened contracts, fees, gratuities, and miscellaneous perquisites, while taxes soared proportionally and so grave had grown this evil that the aggressive Pitt even introduced a bill for Reform of Abuses in Public Office, a bill, however, that was rejected.

In India the root of this evil, recognized long ago by Hastings and Clive, lay in the low salaries paid the Company's servants. This defect Cornwallis remedied by a new schedule of compensation

commensurate with services rendered and adequate to cover expenses.

Another cause of discontent was the inefficiency of the Company's European troops, under whom were vast numbers of sepoy soldiers, as compared with the more highly trained, equipped, and seasoned soldiers of His Majesty's regiments. Drastic improvements, Cornwallis felt, were needed in the army; as he wrote to the directors, "without a large and well-regulated body of Europeans, our hold on these natives must be very insecure." Yet to eliminate the Company's officers was extremely difficult; men, no matter how inefficient, who received salaries of £6,000 to £7,000 a year for heading sepoy regiments could not easily be removed from those lucrative offices, nor would they consent to have their pay lowered to the amount received by crown officers.

Still another problem facing Cornwallis was the large number of relatives and dependents sent out by influential members of the Company to lucrative posts in India, where the opportunities for illegal wealth were so great that even the most incompetent official within a few years could amass a vast fortune, return home, and acquire a fine country estate.

British relations with Indian potentates also presented a vital problem to Cornwallis. Between the triangle of presidencies—Bombay, Calcutta, Madras—there extended a vast area governed by independent princes, with capitals at Lucknow, Hyderabad, Poona, Indore, Nagpur, and Gwalior. At their courts lived English residents whose advice was often solicited and generally followed, but whose position at best was an awkward one. Temptations placed in the paths of these men often led to disastrous consequences. "Few Europeans," Cornwallis wrote home, "have acquired influence at the courts of native princes, without converting it to the most interested purposes; and the natives, with a strong propensity to intrigue, are little capable of distinguishing the real objects of government."

Notwithstanding the attempts made by Cornwallis to readjust the internal administration of Bengal and remain on friendly terms with the native rulers, his efforts were soon interrupted by the machinations of Tipu, and the outbreak of the third Mysore war. Though the

governor-general had been warned by the court of directors to refrain, except as a last resort, from all hostilities, he was forced by a previous treaty to move against Tipu. Tipu had attacked the rajah of Travancore, an English ally whose lands lay along the southwestern corner of India, and which, if captured, would provide the province of Mysore with an outlet to the sea.

Warned of the approach of English troops, Tipu left hurriedly for the Carnatic, plundering and looting as he went. At Pondicherry he stopped long enough to negotiate with the French governor for 6,000 men, rashly promising him all the English settlements in India for his assistance. But his request, transmitted to Paris, was ignored by Louis XVI, and after remaining for a time on the red hills overlooking Pondicherry, Tipu moved to a hill fort 60 miles away called Gingee.

Since the nearest English post, Madras, was in the hands of a weak and corrupt governor, Cornwallis, in December, 1790, with six battalions of grenadiers, went south in person to organize a punitive expedition, for by this time Tipu's fanaticism, arrogance, and boldness were alarming all India. Many even suspected that he had sent envoys to Europe to enlist aid from Constantinople and Paris.

Forming a league against Tipu, who was suspected, too, of forming alliances not only with the French, but also with the Marathas and the nizam of Hyderabad, in 1791 Cornwallis marched toward Mysore, expecting to attack Tipu in his capital, Seringapatam. In March the British troops stormed Bangalore; two months later they reached Arikara, only a few miles from Tipu's stronghold.

Here, on May fifteenth, Tipu was defeated, but, as the season was too late to besiege this capital, Cornwallis retired to Bangalore to prepare for a campaign after the rains were over. While in camp he learned that the Mysore war had been approved by the House of Commons, that the Company had voted him £500,000 to carry on his campaign, and that 100 elephants and 28,000 bullocks—the army had been handicapped by lack of suitable transports—had been sent to his assistance.

His second campaign against Tipu opened in January, 1792, when

The services of Cornwallis at this time were needed far more in England than in India. The continental war was proving a chimera, and Ireland, where Cornwallis was now sent as viceroy, was in danger of rebellion. Having suppressed the incipient Irish revolt, Cornwallis was sent, in October, 1801, to negotiate a treaty with Joseph Bonaparte and with Talleyrand, a master diplomat with whom Cornwallis with his purely military training was unable to cope. Here he remained until the chaotic conditions in India resulted in his return to Calcutta for a second term of office.

India at the Crossroads

CORNWALLIS WAS SUCCEEDED by one of the shrewdest statesmen ever sent out to India—Richard Colley Wellesley. The Indian career of this leader, also known as the Marquis of Mornington, is almost as spectacular and as important as that of Lord Clive, for his military achievements opened up new and vital gateways leading to British control of India. During the governorship of Wellesley, India faced for the second time a grave crisis that required an astute mind, a strong hand, and a cool head.

Wellesley, who was one of the greatest men to govern India, came of a distinguished Irish family, a family noted for the many statesmen and soldiers who had served England, among them his younger brother Arthur, who later became famous as the Duke of Wellington. Richard Wellesley, who was born at Dangan Castle, Ireland, on June 20, 1760, was the eldest of six sons of Viscount Wellesley. Educated at Harrow, Eton, and Oxford, he began his political career by entering the Irish House of Peers. His connection with India began when he was appointed by Pitt to the board of control for India. In the close study of India affairs necessitated by this appointment, Wellesley came into intimate contact with Cornwallis and became one of his closest friends and supporters.

Through the influence of Cornwallis, in 1797 Wellesley was appointed governor of Madras, a position he never actually held, for when Cornwallis, whose presence was needed in Ireland, declined to reconsider a reappointment as governor of India, Wellesley was elected to that important office. The new appointee, carrying full and explicit instructions for the government of India outlined by the secret committee, sailed from England on November 7, 1797. He

was not accompanied by his wife, Hyacinthe Gabrielle Roland, with whom he had lived for many years prior to his marriage to her in 1794, and by whom he had five children.

The ship that carried Wellesley to his new post touched at the Cape of Good Hope, whose importance as a naval base for ships outfitting for China and India was not overlooked by the traveler. At the Cape the governor met a group of Company officers returning to England; from them he learned at first hand the complicated state of affairs in India, especially the influence of certain French groups in the Deccan. A stranger to India, Wellesley was fully cognizant of his lack of first-hand knowledge of the Far Eastern situation. But with the assistance of those whom he met at the Cape, a tentative policy was outlined to cope with the French menace in India: to enlist the support of the Marathas and the nizam of Hyderabad against England's enemy, Tipu of Mysore, who was backed by and allied with French interests.

All observers agreed that the gravest danger at this time to English interests in India was the rapid rise of the Napoleonic star in Europe and the conqueror's designs on Persia, the Near East, and India. By the time Wellesley reached India, the French general was advancing toward Egypt, the steppingstone, Englishmen believed, to India; already an advance guard of Frenchmen were exploiting the Deccan. Many of them were French soldiers and officers who had remained in India after the war; others were adventurers who regarded it as a land of easy wealth and glorious promise, and who by ingratiating themselves with native princes created for themselves comfortable berths at the local capitals.

A group of these military adventurers, allying themselves with Tipu, aided him to strengthen, equip, and train his army and encouraged him to drive the English out of southern India. Assured of this support, Tipu sent to France, begging Napoleon's co-operation, and received an encouraging reply from the dynamic French leader. In addition, the governor of Mauritius had already published a proclamation urging the natives to enlist in Tipu's army. North of Mysore, at the court of Hyderabad, where 14,000 native troops were being trained by French officers, French interests had also grown so

powerful that they actually controlled the state councils and, indirectly, the succession to the nizam's throne.

Coming into direct contact with Tipu's anti-British policy, upon his arrival at Madras on April 26, 1798, Wellesley immediately realized the gravity of Anglo-French rivalry in Madras. Coupled with this menace was the state of British finances, which were at a perilously low ebb in India, so low, in fact, that food, clothes, and ammunition could not be purchased for the army. In the event of war, little reliance could be placed on native aid, for rulers, believed pro-British, were proving cowardly, dilatory, and unreliable. "I can anticipate," Wellesley writes home at this time, "nothing but the most baneful consequences of a war with Tipu. The situation, I fear, is bad beyond the hope of remedy."

In the fall Wellesley left Madras and went to Calcutta, there to discuss with the council ways and means to crush Tipu and his French-backed Mysore army. During the period between the departure of Cornwallis and the arrival of Wellesley, control had been placed in the hands of Sir John Shore or Lord Teignmouth, a mild, courteous, and extremely conservative politician, but one lacking in sound statesmanship.

At Calcutta, as at Madras, Wellesley soon recognized the dangerously weak state of the British forces. Many of the European regiments were quite unfit for war, for the army was made up primarily of sailors, invalids, deserters, and adventurers who had enlisted as soldiers in England as a method of getting cheap passage out to India. Many of the best soldiers proved to be native troops (the sepoys), who were commanded by British officers and who "showed great fidelity and attachment to British service."

One of Wellesley's first acts upon reaching Calcutta was to make a full survey and report of what constituted the basic causes of the Company's financial stringency, a stringency that had to be rectified before a campaign against Tipu could be undertaken. In a financial report made in 1798 the governor gives a résumé of the situation:

"The principal causes of our actual embarrassment are to be found in the great amount of supplies furnished on account of investments to Europe and China, in the increase of the civil and military

establishments of all the presidencies, in the expenses incident to the acquisition and maintenance of our several conquests in India, and to the intended expedition against Manila, in the partial failure of certain branches of our ordinary resources, and finally in the heavy addition to our debt under the accumulated pressure of a high rate of interest, and of the obligations contracted for the annual discharge of large portions of the principal."

Defense, finances, and preparations for war occupied the attention of Wellesley, who wrote to the court of directors of the immediate need to check Tipu and his allies, to form an alliance with Hyderabad, and to intercede in the succession to the throne of Tanjore. He adds, "I trust that the Court of Directors . . . will be ready to sacrifice with cheerfulness something of present commercial profit to the Company for the preservation of the main sources of our wealth and strength." Though Parliament and the directors were known to be in favor of conservatism, nonintervention, and economy, Wellesley boldly and on his own initiative outlined an opposite course.

The secret committee of the court of directors replied to Wellesley's letter by signifying their approval of his policies. They added that they hoped, in the event of war, to acquire the seacoast lying between the Ghats and the Malabar Coast. Wellesley's first step in carrying out his policies was to enter into negotiations with the nizam of Hyderabad, who was willing to remove his French visitors to secure the protection of British forces. His next step was to request Tipu to expel all Frenchmen living within Mysore.

Attempts to negotiate with Tipu proved a failure; although his replies to Wellesley's advances were courteous, he declined to enter into an alliance. Finally in October, when word reached India that Napoleon had landed in Egypt, Wellesley, who was determined to conquer Tipu and Mysore before they provided a steppingstone to Napoleon's territorial ambitions in the Orient, began preparations for war.

By February, 1799, hostilities were imminent. For the past few months Wellesley had remained constantly at Madras. There, aided by the local governor, son of the great Clive, and his own capable

brother, Arthur Wellesley, who was to take charge of the Hyderabad allied army when war broke out, he could lay plans for the pending campaign. After some minor skirmishes, the British forces met Tipu and his French allies in April near Seringapatam. Less than a month later, this important city was captured, Tipu killed in its defense, and French power in Mysore broken.

Undoubtedly much of the Company's success in Mysore may be attributed to Arthur Wellesley, whose military genius was first apparent in India, and to whom at all times Governor Wellesley turned for co-operation and advice. After the conquest came the problem of the handling of Mysore, and here again Wellesley turned for advice to his brother. His own viewpoint is expressed in a letter written to Arthur on May 20 from Fort George, in which he said that the Mysore war would be of permanent benefit to England only if the interests of the Company, the court of Hyderabad, and the leading Maratha chieftains could be conciliated with those of Mysore, if the military power of Mysore were broken, if Seringapatam became a British garrison, and if the Company retained the Malabar Coast and the control of all the passes leading into the interior.

In order to place southern India on a peaceful footing, upon the advice of his brother, Wellesley decided to divide the country into several units. One of these, Mysore proper, was then made into a native Hindu state ruled by Hyder Ali, whose leadership the Company guaranteed to protect with its army in return for a payment of £280,000 annually. The East India Company took for its share the seacoast area, and some valuable fortresses commanding the passes leading into the interior. The Marathas and the nizam of Hyderabad were also given concessions of Mysore territory for their services in aiding the British.

The effect of Wellesley's brilliant and brief campaign in Mysore was felt throughout India. "Our success in Mysore," the governor wrote to Henry Dundas, "has utterly annihilated the spirit of insubordination and contempt which for some time past has been gaining ground among Mohammedan subjects."

Wellesley's Mysore war was also acclaimed in England. In addition to the motion passed by the court of directors signifying their

approval of his rather radical conduct, the House of Commons passed a vote of thanks for the wisdom, decision, and energy with which he had discharged the arduous duties of his office. The governor was commended in particular for his prompt and able handling of the aggressive French, whose power and influence had been destroyed in the Deccan, and for establishing on what was believed to be a permanent basis the tranquillity and prosperity of the British Empire in India. Further honors were accorded when, on December 2, 1799, the hero of Mysore was created the Marquis of Wellesley. He was also offered £100,000 by the court of directors as his share of the loot captured at Seringapatam, an offer that he declined. He did take, however, a star and badge made from Tipu's jewels, long one of his most cherished possessions.

Wellesley's next diplomatic move was south of Madras, in Tanjore, where a dispute over the succession to the throne had arisen and where the governor decided to support a pro-British aspirant, Rajah Sarboji, for the Tanjore throne. In return for British assistance, the rajah in a treaty signed on October 25, 1799, gave the actual administration of Tanjore to the East India Company, in whose hands it remained until 1855 when it was annexed by Great Britain.

In the Carnatic the death of the nawab, Umdat ul Umara, a friend and ally of Tipu, afforded Wellesley another opportunity to back a pro-British candidate for the throne. The Company's efforts were rewarded in a treaty, signed on July 31, 1801, whereby the entire military and civil administration of this territory was placed in British hands, an arrangement amounting virtually to annexation.

Further north at the frontier province of Oudh, at the same time, a vigorous anti-British movement incited by the nawab, Saadat Ali, was discovered. Wellesley regarded this unrest, encouraged by a nawab known to be treacherous, as a grave menace to the Company's holdings in Bengal. At the governor's orders, negotiations of a diplomatic nature were begun with this dangerous leader by Arthur Wellesley, who diplomatically persuaded the nawab to become a British friend and ally and to cede certain frontier districts to the Company in return for their assistance in defending Oudh.

British concessions in Oudh were then placed in charge of a com-

mission headed by Arthur Wellesley, under whose able management commerce up and down the Jumna, now made navigable for large vessels, was revived and Allahabad made a thriving commercial center.

By treaties with Mysore, Tanjore, the Deccan, and Oudh, all of which contained clauses excluding foreigners, especially Frenchmen, from British-controlled areas, Wellesley was rapidly extending the Company's power and prestige throughout northern, central, and southern India.

In England many prominent citizens, bitterly opposed to the rapid aggrandizement of the East India Company, questioned its ethics, ambitions, and monopolies, and revived the long-debated point of the legality of the East India Company's charter. After 1800 bitter and prolonged arguments again agitated London circles concerning the proprietary rights of the Company, discussions into which Parliament was drawn.

One prominent champion of the East India Company's rights was the lord advocate of Scotland, the Honorable Henry Dundas, who frankly and openly expressed his beliefs in this letter written from Somerset House on April 2, 1800, to the Company:

"I remain satisfied as to the propriety of continuing a monopoly of the trade in the hands of the East India Company . . . if the trade were laid open the supposed advantages therein arising are at best very problematical, and would certainly be very precarious and short-lived. The government and the trade are interwoven together, and we have only to recur to very recent experience to learn the immense advantages which have flowed from that connection of government and trade. By the commercial capital of the Company at home, acting in connection with the public revenues under this administration abroad, they have mutually aided and administered to the wants of each other, and the result has been the fortunate achievement of these brilliant events upon the success of which depended the existence of the government, the territorial wealth, and the trade of India."

Enemies of the Company, however, hoped to break the monopoly by pointing out that the exports of India were now far in excess of

what the East India Company's vessels could handle, and that other shippers should be allowed to absorb the surplus. Others publicly accused Henry Dundas of favoritism, of considering the India trade merely as a vehicle for carrying home to England private fortunes accumulated in India.

Wellesley, far away in India and engrossed with plans for its betterment, seems to have remained aloof from the political turmoil that was directed against the East India Company. His ambition to establish a college at Fort William was about to be realized; there was need in India for a place where young men could be trained to better standards of efficiency and conduct. The governor had long felt the need of such an institution where young men, upon arriving in India, could have two or three years of rigid moral discipline and sound mental training, and acquire a knowledge of native languages and Mohammedan and Hindu codes and customs. Such a college, Wellesley confidently believed, would solve many of the country's most serious problems; for much of the maladministration and corrupt practices in British India came from the indolence, sloth, debauchery, and inexperience of the untrained men who entered the Company's service. His care for the welfare of young India civil servants was proverbial. "Wellesley," one of his contemporaries wrote, "watched over the morals of the junior servants in Bengal with the anxiety and solicitude of a parent, and the beneficial effects of his laudable care are visible in every department of the government." Wellesley was also occupied at this time in devising ways and means to stimulate trade, improve revenues, and organize the newly acquired provinces on an efficient basis. ✓

Thus he was unaware of the fact that in London his India was beginning to be regarded as an abyss into which endless funds were poured but from which inadequate returns were realized. He was unaware, too, that his policies were now the target of acid-tongued critics, that expenditures incurred for wars were being sharply criticized, that his policy of supporting candidates for native thrones was regarded with disfavor, and that his characteristic self-reliance and independence of thought, action, and combat were topics of unfavorable discussion.

The discovery of the bitter sentiment that had developed against him in England was a heavy blow to the gallant Wellesley. Even more trying to him than the public's lack of confidence in his governorship was the stand taken by the court of directors. After receiving from them, he wrote a friend, "a peremptory order to reduce the military strength of the empire, which had been made under my express authority, after the fullest deliberation, and after consulting all the most experienced officers in India," he decided to hand in his resignation as governor.

A new crisis brought on by the Maratha situation forced Wellesley, invariably conscientious and loyal to duty, to remain in India. Until the five scattered Maratha groups, with headquarters at Poona, Baroda, Gwalior, Indore, and Nagpur, groups more or less anti-British, who were fighting among themselves for control of central India, were subdued, Wellesley felt, there could be no peace for India.

Attempts had already been made by the British to form an alliance with the leader of the most powerful of these five groups, the peshwa of Poona; by a treaty signed December 31, 1802, the peshwa promised to cede certain lands, including Bassein, near Bombay, to the Company in return for their assistance in routing his most dangerous Maratha rivals, the chieftains Sindhia and Holkar.

Protected by Wellesley's treaty, the peshwa was escorted by the Company's soldiers to his capital at Poona. This was one of Wellesley's boldest acts, an act disapproved by the foreign office, which sternly warned him against policies that "tended to involve us in the endless and complicated distractions of the turbulent Maratha empire."

But before Wellesley could modify his policy, in August, 1803, war was declared against the British by the leaders Sindhia and Holkar, who interpreted the British-Poona agreement as a direct blow at Maratha sovereignty.

Wellesley now prepared to invade Sindhia's stronghold lying between the Ganges and the Jumna and to attack his French allies who were blocking the way to Delhi and Agra. This campaign, which

was in charge of General Arthur Wellesley and General Lake, terminated five months later in the capture of Sindhia's army and the annexation of his territory by the East India Company.

The only powerful Maratha chief who remained unconquered was Holkar, who, having successfully evaded and outwitted the British forces, finally forced his British opponent, Colonel Monson, to retreat. Early in 1805 Holkar also defeated General Lake at Bharatpur. To pacify the Company, much against the judgment of Wellesley, who felt that the Maratha menace should be permanently settled, an unsatisfactory peace was concluded.

Although Holkar had not submitted to the yoke of England, the Marathas had been removed from Delhi, and the mogul, Shah Alam, placed under the Company's protection on the Delhi throne, where he remained until the storm broke in 1857.

During the term of his governorship, Wellesley accomplished the almost superhuman task of transforming vast sections of India into British-controlled territory. The old British enemy, Tipu, was routed and the Mysore menace terminated. French aggression and influence were checked in the Deccan. Tanjore, Surat, the Carnatic, Bundelkhand, and Oudh were made British protectorates. The foundations of a firm alliance with Persia were begun. The Marathas, except for Holkar, were subdued. The presidencies of Madras, Bombay, and Calcutta were enlarged, and, most important of all, the commercial tentacles of the East India Company extended throughout the Far East. Wellesley governed India by adopting the principle of the supremacy and autocracy of English power in the Far East. By placing British supervision over weak native princes he adopted the only policy that could bring lasting peace to India.

Whatever the antagonism to him by certain groups in England, Wellesley was the hero of British India. The esteem and honor in which he was held by those who knew him and his work intimately is reflected in a congratulatory letter signed by the British residents of Calcutta, praising his governorship during which "British power in India has been raised to the proudest preeminence." This was read at a public celebration held for Wellesley on February 21, 1804,

at Calcutta, when funds were also raised to erect a marble statue in his honor.

A flood of congratulatory letters was received by the governor at this same time from Europe and Asia, praising his success in eradicating the centuries-old Maratha evil and bringing peace to India. Especially welcome to Wellesley was the full approval of his administration by the prime minister, Lord Grenville, and the vote of thanks passed by the House of Commons. Even from what he had called "the most loathsome den of the East India House" he was commended for the zeal, honesty, and ability he had displayed.

In England Wellesley was made a peer in 1797, and, two years later, an Irish marquis. The subsequent career of Wellesley in English political life was a brilliant one. For a time he served as ambassador to Spain; and, finally, as foreign secretary. Invariably a vigorous and outspoken champion of any cause he espoused, he was in the front ranks of leaders who opposed the terms of the European settlement of 1814, the Corn Laws of 1815, and Catholic emancipation. Several years before his death, which occurred on September 26, 1842, he withdrew from politics.

The policy of Wellesley, based on wars of conquest, placed a heavy financial debt on the shoulders of the Company. Forty million people and an annual revenue of ten millions were added to the resources of the Company, yet expenses exceeded income to an alarming degree, the various branches of the government were in arrears, and although Indian revenue brought in £15,000,000 annually, expenses were at least £17,000,000 sterling.

In London circles, Cornwallis was considered the only man capable of placing the financial system of India on a sound basis. Much against his better judgment, the former governor, who was now sixty-six and in poor health, reluctantly accepted for a second term the heavy task of ruling turbulent India.

Sailing from England in March, on July 30, 1805, Cornwallis reached Calcutta. The most pressing problem he ~~faced~~ was that of making peace with the wily Maratha, Holkar, by whom Monson had been defeated. Although ill and exhausted from the long voy-

age, he started up the Ganges on this mission into the hot interior. En route his mind seemed to fail. He was taken ashore at Ghazipore where he grew rapidly worse and, on October 4, passed away.

Cornwallis was buried with honors at Ghazipore, where a great mausoleum was erected over his grave. In his memory the British army in India wore mourning for three months. Later statues of him were placed in Madras, Bombay, and in St. Paul's in London, and the sum of £40,000 presented his family by the court of directors. The death of Cornwallis at this critical time was a serious loss to all India.

India Under Minto and Moira

WELLESLEY, notwithstanding the vast territories he acquired for the Company, sailed away from India leaving behind an empty treasury and a staggering load of debts. He also left behind the unfortunate impression, prevalent throughout India, that the British government hoped to bring under its control every native state in India. Had Cornwallis, who was out to untangle the political and financial difficulties of the Company, lived, with his vast knowledge of Indian affairs, he would undoubtedly have placed British-Indian finances on a firm and secure basis.

The sudden death of Cornwallis at Ghazipur left India without a leader. The rôle of governor ad interim fell to Sir George Barlow, a civil servant and member of the Calcutta council. A pacifist and conservative, Sir George adopted a policy of retrenchment, reducing to a minimum British territory and abandoning the Company's Maratha allies to the aggressions of their dangerous enemies, Sindhia and Holkar. He also withdrew from relationships with native princes, unless bound by treaty, to avoid involving England in further responsibility for subsidizing and otherwise aiding weak native rulers.

Sir George Barlow's conservative, albeit ineffectual, regime lasted only until a new governor could be sent out to India. The question of an able successor was not easily solved. In 1806 a Whig ministry had been formed in England which favored Lord Lauderdale for the governorship. So much opposition was raised against Lauderdale, however, that a compromise candidate, Lord Minto, president of the board of control and a candidate equally acceptable to the court of directors and the crown, was named to the post.

✓ Sir Gilbert Elliot, later Lord Minto, was born in November, 1782, and educated at Edinburgh. After training for the diplomatic service,

he served as a member of Parliament. In Parliament Lord Minto became familiar with Indian problems. In 1771 he had served as a member of the Select Committee. Later he was one of Fox's commissioners, assisted in 1787 at the impeachment of Sir Elijah Impey, and was closely associated with Burke, Fox, and Sheridan in the impeachment of Warren Hastings.

Minto had been brought up in the school of Edmund Burke, a warm friend whom he greatly admired and whose fiery orations on the English in India had awakened him, as they had so many Britishers, to a keen sense of England's duty toward its Indian subjects. He was known to be a man of honor, a scholar, and a loyal British subject.

In February, 1807, Lord Minto left England for India on the frigate *Modeste*, a ship in command of his second son, George Elliot. He reached Madras on June 20 and there learned for the first time of a serious mutiny that had broken out at Vellore, on July 10, 1806, nearly a year earlier, in which two battalions of sepoy had revolted, murdered their white officers, and hoisted the native flag. The uprising had occurred after the British had forced the sepoy to wear a European hat in place of their usual turban and had forbidden them to appear on parade wearing caste marks or earrings. The sepoy believed it was an English attempt to force them to become Christians. The revolt ended abruptly when Colonel Gillespie and his men from Arcot blew open the gates of Vellore, killing four hundred sepoy.

The arrival of Lord Minto at Madras was the signal for a round of entertaining, an endless series of teas and dinners which the governor found wearisome. The nawab of the Carnatic, "a fat, black-bearded person about thirty," also overwhelmed Minto with attentions, sending messengers several times a day to enquire about his health, and presenting him every evening with a dinner of at least fifty strange native dishes, brought in by a long line of native bearers.

Reaching Calcutta on July 31, 1807, the new governor-general entered upon the more sober duties of office. He was specifically pledged to follow the policy advocated by Cornwallis and endorsed by Parliament of nonaggression, noninterference in the affairs of

native princes, and nonextension of British possessions in India. This pacific policy proved difficult to pursue because of a new danger indirectly threatening British India—the amazing victories of Napoleon in Europe—for among bitter enemies of the victorious French general were Russia and England, at whose Asiatic possessions he longed to strike. Since Persia had suffered heavily in the Russian war of 1804 and 1805, Napoleon was now attempting to form a triple alliance through an envoy sent to their capital, Teheran, with France, Turkey, and Persia, thus creating a Near Eastern gateway into Asia.

In aspiring to emulate the Asiatic conquests of Alexander the Great, the French leader even hoped to form an anti-British alliance with the Marathas, whose armies might supplement those of the French in India. After the battle of Friedland in 1807 Russia was transformed from an enemy into an ally, thus enabling Napoleon to focus his Far Eastern ambitions solely on British India. The rise in 1807 of the Napoleonic star was what predetermined Lord Minto's foreign policy, undoubtedly the most brilliant phase of his governorship in India, and centered his interest on the India frontier and buffer native states that barred the way to Persia.

Out of this arose Minto's three famous embassies, designed to establish cordial relations between the Company and buffer countries: those of Malcolm to Persia, Metcalfe to the Punjab, and Elphinstone to Kabul. Malcolm, Metcalfe, and Elphinstone reached India at the beginning of its golden era. New frontiers were being discovered; northwest India beyond the Carnatic and Bengal was being brought within the circle of British interests. Opportunities for advancement were being offered on every hand to ambitious young civil servants; many young men, recalling the rise of Hastings and Clive from the lowest ranks to the highest posts India had to offer, dreamed of following in their footsteps. In addition to civilian openings, the British army, whose supremacy was now generally conceded by the native rulers, afforded chances for stirring adventures.

By the eighteenth century the magnetic attractions of India were drawing to its shores many men of extraordinary promise. Among them were this same famous trio, whose names are linked with diplomatic history in India. All three were men of fine physique, sound

character, and extraordinary intellectual accomplishments. In addition to their diplomatic duties, all three found time to leave notable contributions to Anglo-Indian literature: Malcolm's *History of Persia*; *Selections from Lord Metcalfe's Papers*; and Elphinstone's *History of India*.

The first of these embassies, that of John Malcolm, was planned to conciliate the important country of Persia, where French agents were actively intriguing at the court. Malcolm was considered an able envoy for the post, having been sent there once before by Wellesley in 1799 when he succeeded in making two favorable treaties with the shah for factories in Persia.

Malcolm's was a vital and extremely difficult task. He was instructed by Minto to urge Persia to refrain from a French alliance, to refuse passage to French troops bound for India, to prevent French factories from locating in Persia, and to obtain full and authentic information about new French-Persian relationships. Upon his arrival at Teheran Malcolm found that the Persians preferred French support at this time to English alliances, and so returned to India. Meanwhile Napoleon, involved in his Spanish campaign, and meeting his first reverses, abandoned his Persian allies. A second envoy sent out from London to Persia at this critical moment succeeded where Malcolm had failed and concluded a treaty with the shah whereby England agreed, for certain concessions, to assist that land if attacked.

Malcolm's mission was followed by two more embassies sent to what was in reality a terra incognita—the northwest frontier. In those days the country lying between the Jumna, that marked the northern end of British territory, and the Sutlej was divided into a series of independent principalities controlled by the Sikhs. Beyond the Sutlej lay the Punjab, another Sikh province held by the maharajah of Lahore, Ranjit Singh, whose territorial ambitions were a menace to the English frontier.

Beyond the Punjab and the Indus toward the northeast stretched the mysterious land of Kabul, once a great Persian-Afghan empire that had extended from the Jumna to the Caspian Sea, and from the Oxus to the Persian Gulf. Out of its once vast boundaries had been carved Persia, Lahore, and Sind, now enemy territory.

Minto's task was to decide with which of these strange lands he would attempt to form alliances. His choice finally fell on the remote territory of Kabul and the Punjab province of Lahore. The envoys selected for these missions were directed to attempt to conciliate the rulers of Kabul and Lahore, to request them to allow British troops to pass through their territory, and to prevent French armies from crossing their country.

The conciliation of Ranjit Singh, an anti-British Sikh of a jealous and unfriendly nature, who had been raiding English territory south of the Sutlej, was entrusted to a young man only twenty-three years of age, Charles Metcalfe, later famous as Lord Metcalfe, governor of India and Canada. Carrying secret instructions from Lord Minto, Metcalfe left Delhi on August 12, 1808. Two months later he reached the camp of Ranjit Singh who sent his prime minister and an escort of two thousand men to meet him.

After prolonged negotiations, the wily maharajah agreed to aid the Company to keep out enemies on the Punjab frontier, provided the English would not hinder him in any attempt he might make to absorb neighboring Sikh territory, a condition Metcalfe refused to meet. Unwilling to make less favorable terms with the Company, Ranjit Singh, in an effort to enlarge his own boundaries, began a series of successful attacks on neighboring tribes of Sikhs. Each victory brought the maharajah closer to the English border, a situation that created a fresh menace to the Company's holdings.

This unwelcome approach of Ranjit Singh was watched with increasing anxiety by the Calcutta council who sent secret dispatches to Metcalfe, requesting him to warn the Sikh victor that the British would use force to protect their boundaries. To the credit of the young diplomat his second meeting with Ranjit Singh, this time at his capital at Lahore, terminated in a treaty signed on April 25, 1809, wherein the English agreed not to interfere with his activities north of the Sutlej. The maharajah in turn guaranteed to restore all lands recently seized from his Sikh neighbors, and to cede to the British all lands between the Sutlej and Jumna rivers in return for military protection. This treaty, incidentally, was never violated, and the Sikhs

remained at all times one of the most loyal and dependable of English native allies.

Minto's third diplomatic mission, that of Mountstuart Elphinstone to unknown Kabul, was perhaps the most important of the three embassies. Elphinstone, a Scotchman of fine family, reached India in February, 1796, and was stationed for a time at Benares, where he narrowly escaped with his life when Wazir Ali, the deposed nawab of Oudh, murdered several British residents. Later, Elphinstone had the good fortune to be associated during the Maratha campaigns in central India with Arthur Wellesley, by whom he was recommended to the governor-general.

Through him Elphinstone received the appointment of resident at Nagpur. Here from 1804 to 1808 he studied Oriental languages and literature. Because of this unusual knowledge as well as because of his courteous manners, he was selected to head a mission to Kabul.

In July, 1808, Elphinstone left the residency at Nagpur for Delhi, where he was to make final preparations for his departure; with him he took the great boxes of his beloved books that accompanied him everywhere. His escort, which left Delhi in October, included 400 troops, 13 elephants, and 600 camels, and was thoroughly equipped in every detail. The route selected lay across the desert to Bikaner, then to Mooltan. Here the train rested while Elphinstone wrote to the king of Kabul for permission to enter his territory. The royal permit, reluctantly granted, was slow in arriving, for the Afghans disliked the idea of foreign contacts. Finally, on March 5, four months after leaving Delhi, Elphinstone reached Peshawar on the east side of Afghanistan.

At Peshawar the British envoy met Shah Shuja, then king of Kabul. His kingdom, however, was about to totter, Kabul being in the throes of civil war. Notwithstanding, Elphinstone's embassy was received by Shah Shuja with the utmost magnificence, ceremony, and pomp in a great hall filled with guards and courtiers, a hall rich with thick carpets and heavy silk curtains. It was here that Shah Shuja, a king of noble countenance and fine appearance about thirty years of age, received his English visitors while seated on a throne

covered with pearl-trimmed cloth of gold, wearing his state jewels, including the famous Koh-i-noor diamond. He responded to Elphinstone's overtures by requesting a contribution of fifteen lacs of rupees from the Company to save his throne. Unfortunately for him, a sum of this size was beyond Elphinstone's power to grant. Furthermore, the British ambassador could not see in the present troubled state of Kabul politics, any permanent advantages to be gained from a British-Kabul alliance entailing an expenditure of that size. A compromise was finally arranged between them whereby the Company guaranteed to supply financial assistance to the ruler to the amount of three lacs of rupees annually.

The agreement made at this time is outlined in the following private letter from Elphinstone to Minto:

"A very unfavorable turn has taken place in the King of Kabul's affairs. For some time past his prospects had appeared to be much improved. During this period the negotiations continued, and the treaty was signed on the 19th instant. It merely binds your Lordship to assist the King of Kabul with money against a confederacy of French and Persians, and the King of Kabul to resist these powers while their confederacy lasts, and to exclude all Frenchmen from his country forever. A few days ago intelligence was received of the approach of Shah Mahommed's troops to Kabul, and of the entire failure of Ameer Ool Moolk's attack on Cashmere, and of the loss or defection of the greater part of his army."

But by the time Elphinstone's letter reached Calcutta, civil war in Kabul had reached a crisis and Shah Shuja's throne was tottering perilously under him. The old Afghan love of independence meanwhile was engulfing Kabul. An old Afghan chief told Elphinstone at this time, "We are content with discord; we are content with alarms; we are content with blood; but we will never be content with a master."

On June 14 the British embassy set out from Peshawar for Calcutta, leaving with regret the cool and shady gardens, sparkling fountains, shrubs, trees, fruits and flowers so reminiscent of their own England. Before they reached their post, however, the treaty had been officially signed at Calcutta, and Shah Shuja, defeated, had fled

into exile, making Elphinstone's agreement valueless. The only benefit thus derived from the Minto embassy to Afghanistan was a broader knowledge of the country and the delightful account left by Elphinstone of his experiences, written at Bombay, where his friend Malcolm was writing his *History of Persia*, and published in 1815, called *An Account of the Kingdom of Caubaul*.

Even more important at this time than the three foreign embassies was Minto's conduct during the widespread mutiny that arose in 1809 not among the sepoy troops, but in the ranks of British officers in India. The germs of the mutiny were sown when the court of directors back in London voted to make certain drastic reductions, in order to curtail expenses, in army allowances. A reduction that directly affected officers was the abolition of the tent contract, an extra allowance used to provide camp equipment, whether in the field or in the cantonment.

The revolt among British army officers which centered in the south soon spread to practically every branch of the British army. Everywhere in army circles officers now talked openly of treason, of fighting a tyrannical government, even if they died in the attempt. Toasts, seditious remarks, and inflammatory comments were heard at every officers' mess table, where they were greeted by thundering applause. Mutinous letters, circulated secretly from camp to camp, were read and discussed openly, then sent on to other stations. At Masulipatam where the situation was acute, officers seized the fort. India without loyal officers was open to many dangers. "The power," Minto tersely remarked, "which entrusts to the soldier his sword has a supreme claim to his fidelity."

Fully cognizant of the gravity of the crisis, Lord Minto left Calcutta in August for Madras, while Colonel Close with 30,000 loyal troops prepared to meet any emergency. Upon his arrival at Madras the inspiring personality and commanding presence of Minto, coupled with forceful talks to his officers, checked one of the greatest perils that ever threatened the existence of the East India Company. "No man of honor at the head of a government," he warned his officers, "will compromise with revolt."

On September 25, 1809, Minto announced the penalties the

army must pay for mutiny. Certain offenders were to be selected for punishment, including officers in command of stations or bodies of troops, commandants of corps, and those who had taken a particularly active part in the revolt. Officers not to exceed twenty-one in number in the first two groups were to be sent for trial by court-martial. Those in the third group were permitted to choose between trial or dismissal from service. The remaining officers were granted a general amnesty.

In 1809 Minto was called upon to handle another menace, the depredations of pirates whose hideouts stretched 400 miles along the Persian Gulf, where they inflicted heavy damages on East Indiamen. A force of several armed frigates and 1,500 soldiers was now sent by Minto to the Gulf; the pirate settlements and ships were captured and British commerce saved from this menace.

Mauritius, the haunt of French freebooters, was the source of another evil to British shipping, and in 1809 no fewer than six valuable East Indiamen had been captured by island pirates. In September of the following year, Minto ordered three divisions of troops to Mauritius, the island was captured, and its ownership confirmed to the Company in the treaty of Paris.

In addition to Mauritius, the only new territory added to the Company's holdings during the time of Lord Minto was Java. The governor-general first became interested in the conquest of this Dutch Island from the reports of Stamford Raffles. Raffles was a young civil servant employed by the Company who had spent some time at Malacca, a post which the Company had considered abandoning, but had reversed its decision after he had submitted favorable reports about the settlement.

At the request of Lord Minto, Stamford Raffles, in whom the governor had become interested, left Malacca in June, 1810, and went to Calcutta. Here, after telling the governor of his work on the peninsula, he persuaded Lord Minto to undertake the conquest of Java, temporarily under French sway because of Dutch-French alliances in Europe, and an important trading center in the Orient. Having decided to head the expedition in person, Minto left Calcutta in March, and in May put in at the Malay Peninsula, where a British

force of 12,000 men had assembled. At Malacca he was also joined by Raffles, who escorted him to Java.

On August 6, the British forces reached their destination, Chil-linching Bay, the site of a small Javanese village, where they disembarked. Minto writes at this time, "The troops were so well behaved that they did not even kiss an old woman without her consent." Three days later the army moved toward Batavia. Halting 3 miles from the city the commander, Sir Samuel Auchmuty, sent an official dispatch to the commander of Batavia, ordering the city to surrender. To his surprise, all able-bodied Frenchmen deserted their posts in Batavia, leaving their houses, wives, children, and slaves to the mercy and generosity of the British army. Although a large amount of portable property had been removed from the city, yet in their haste even more had been abandoned. "The city streets when we entered," Minto writes, "were so strewn with litter that people walked over the shoes in sugar, coffee, spices, and rice."

The main defense of the French army was at Cornelis, the strongest military post on the island. This was captured by the English on August 26 after heavy losses to the enemy, one half of the entire French army being either killed or captured. The French commander, General Janssens, however, escaped. Thus by September all Java had fallen into the hands of the British. Minto remained six weeks longer on the island to plan for its administration which he entrusted to Stamford Raffles, who had been made lieutenant-governor.

The dream of Raffles, an energetic and competent governor, was to make Java the center of an Eastern insular empire. His ambition was cut short when Java was restored to Holland a few years later. Raffles, who had returned meanwhile to England, was knighted in 1816. Although his career was cut short by politics beyond his control, Sir Stamford Raffles ranks as one of the great British pioneers in the Far East, not only for his able administration of Java, and his erudite *History of Java*, but also for the founding of Singapore on January 29, 1819.

Not long before Minto left India the charter of the East India Company was altered once more. The forerunner of this change was

the petition of February 22, 1813, presented by the Company to Parliament, asking for an extension of their usual privileges. Three weeks later the House of Commons, on a motion made by Lord Castlereagh, formed a committee to enquire into the matter. Their voluminous report, presented in May, filled two large volumes and covered every angle of the Company's commercial activities in India and China.

This report formed the basis of a new bill, which passed both houses of Parliament that July. The new bill, known as the charter of 1813, regulated and restricted the Company's privileges to a far greater extent and introduced certain basic changes that transferred more power into the hands of the crown. The coveted East India trade was also thrown open for the first time to the general public, by means of a system of licensing ships of a given tonnage with the permission of the court of directors. In addition the Company's financial actions were subjected to a more thorough supervision by the board of control which was even authorized by this new charter to appropriate revenue. The offices of governor-general, governor, and commander-in-chief were now made subject to the approval of the crown, and the territorial possessions of the Company, although remaining under its control for another twenty years, were to be held by them "in trust for His Majesty, his heirs and successors, for the service of the government in India."

But before the full force of the new charter of 1813 could be felt in Calcutta, Lord Minto resigned and was on his way home to England. As a statesman his task in India had been honorably, thoroughly, and conscientiously fulfilled, and the burdensome finances of India had been raised from a condition of deficit to a "flourishing state." Beyond the confines of India the conquest of Java and Mauritius had been carried to completion. Wars both internal and external had for the most part been avoided. A new precedent, that of foreign embassies, had been introduced, and the basis of a new school of diplomacy established. To accomplish all this, the period of governorship had sapped the lifeblood of Lord Minto, as it had most of his predecessors in office.

Reaching England in the spring of 1814, the statesman remained

for a few weeks in London discharging his final obligations to the East India Company. Then, on the last lap of the journey to his beloved country home, known as Minto, when only a few hours away from a reunion with his wife and family from whom he had been separated for seven trying years, his strength gave out and he expired.

India's new governor-general, Francis Rawdon-Hastings, subsequently created Earl of Moira and finally the Marquis of Hastings, the title by which he is usually known, was a worthy successor of Lord Minto. Lord Rawdon, the son of Sir John Rawdon of Moira, in Ireland, was born December 9, 1754. Like so many other Indian statesmen, he was educated at Harrow and Oxford; in 1771 he joined the army.

For the next ten years Lord Rawdon saw active service, being placed in command of 7,000 men in Flanders. Then, succeeding to the earldom of Moira in 1793, he took a keen interest in English politics, sat in the House of Lords, and, after 1806, was intimately associated with Fox and Grenville. The statesmanlike qualities of the able Earl of Moira, his military record, and his popularity with the Prince of Wales won him two honors in 1812: the coveted Order of the Garter and the appointment of governor-general of Bengal and commander-in-chief of British forces in India.

The seven years of peace that had characterized Lord Minto's rule in India ended abruptly soon after Lord Moira's arrival when the warlike Gurkhas of Nepal began moving south against the British frontier. The Gurkhas, a series of independent tribes under powerful chieftains who inhabited the province of Nepal on the northeast frontier of India, touching Tibet, were a new menace to British India. In Moira's day little was known of Nepal. The first Englishman who had seen this foothill country was Colonel Kirkpatrick, who in an account of his journey there in 1792, *An Account of Nepal*, said the land consisted of a semimountainous area topped by the mighty peaks of the Himalayas, and a level valley area, made up of cultivated sections interspersed with stretches of forest. The only known trail leading into this country was through the narrow valley of Nepal where the thriving capital, Katmandu, a city of

some 50,000 inhabitants with a storehouse of ancient Sanscrit literature, was situated.

Historically speaking, Nepal, like so many Indian states, had been the victim of a series of invasions. Originally a land of Buddhists, between 1790 and the time of Lord Moira's arrival in India more than two hundred Nepalese villages had been usurped by Gurkha warriors who, after occupying the leading towns, had then organized a strong army of 12,000 mountaineers, armed and trained like British soldiers.

Under these conquering Gurkhas, descendants of Brahmins and Rajputs who had been driven out of Hindustan by the Moslems, Nepal became a land of feudal chieftains, ruled by military despotism. Although Kirkpatrick in 1792, and later Cornwallis, had succeeded in making a commercial treaty with the Gurkha leaders, and although a British resident had remained for two years in Nepal, the Gurkhas now began to encroach on British territory, plundering, stealing, and annexing villages from Simla to Darjeeling. By 1813 these marauders who now controlled on the east all lands up to the river Teesta, and on the west to the Sutlej, were threatening the British frontier for several hundred miles.

Unrest caused by incessant Gurkha raids across the border into British-controlled country forced Lord Moira, soon after reaching Calcutta, to ascend the Ganges and investigate the situation along the frontier. His hope was to avoid war, for which he felt British India, financially at least, was not prepared. Ever since the Company's finances had shown improvement, considerable cash had been remitted to London, extra funds had been supplied to meet the cost of Minto's Javanese campaign, and heavy drafts had been drawn on Calcutta for the tea investment in China.

However, repeated raids by the Gurkhas across the English border and into Oudh occurred constantly, raids that the British could not check. For this reason in April, 1814, Lord Moira was forced to send a small body of British troops into Nepal. Not long after, these British garrisons, and the small outlying military posts at which they were stationed, were attacked by Gurkha warriors, and the men killed or made captive.

This act was considered by Moira as tantamount to a declaration of war. Preparations for a campaign were rushed and by October a large British army was marching to Nepal. Hill campaigns, hill skirmishes, forced marches into unknown country over poor roads, threatened for a time to end disastrously for the British army. The tide turned when General, later Sir David, Ochterlony was placed in command of the campaign. Advancing up the valley of the Sutlej, the general captured the hill fort of Maloun, then sued for peace.

Terms at this time could not be agreed upon; and a second Nepalese campaign was begun. The brilliant march of General Ochterlony during the winter of 1815 and 1816 from Patna to the Nepal Valley near the capital, Katmandu, finally ended the war. Terms of peace were now arranged by the reigning rajah through the family priest who was sent from Katmandu to negotiate with Major Bradshaw in the Nepal Valley.

By the treaty of Segauli, signed by them in March of that same year, the British acquired certain lands in the foothills of the Himalayas, including Naini Tal, Massuri, and Simla, the lands from the Goya to the Sutlej, and a large amount of annual revenue. The British were also granted the right to send a resident to Nepal. All foreigners except Englishmen were also to be excluded from Nepalese territory, unless granted the right to enter by the Company. Pensions in turn were settled by the British on Gurkha leaders whose lands had been lost, and military protection assured them. In acknowledgment of his work in the conquest of Nepal the governor-general was created the Marquis of Hastings in February of the following year.

The campaign in Nepal was followed by war in the Deccan, known as the third and last Maratha war, a conflict that soon decided the sovereignty of central India. By 1815, the full force of Cornwallis's unfinished Maratha campaign, checked some years earlier by the court of directors, had exacted a heavy toll in the Deccan. Central India was in the throes of anarchy; Maratha chiefs were ravaging the country; bands, deserting their leaders, were forming independent little armies to pillage, destroy, and devastate villages and cities. A reign of terrorism set in, bringing incredible suffering to innocent victims.

Pillaging, looting, death, destruction, and terror reigned throughout central India. Poona, Oudh, Bhopol, Nagpur, and Baroda were overrun by bandits, thieves, and murderers. In some instances the spirit of lawlessness had infected even the upper classes. At Hyderabad a group of debauched young noblemen, led by the sons of the nizam, seized one of the English resident's attendants and extorted money from him, an act that caused the British to demand retribution.

In July, the Marquis of Hastings, deeply distressed by renewed activities on the part of the Marathas, made a second trip up the Ganges to the center of these disturbances. What he saw on this tour of inspection resulted in immediate preparations for war. In view of the pending struggle, John Malcolm was sent on a good-will tour to the courts of the most important Indian princes to discuss the crisis with the local British residents and ascertain the sympathies of their rulers.

In every part of central India but especially at Poona, which had been adversely affected by the treaty of Bassein, Malcolm found that conditions were critical in the extreme. Britishers living in the residency at Poona knew that the Marathas who had befriended them might turn against them at any moment. Elphinstone, the local resident, wrote in his diary in October, "The peshwa is arming openly and even ostentatiously. There are innumerable reports and alarms of plots, conspiracies, mutinies, and assassinations."

In sympathy with the Maratha rebels were vast hordes of Pindaris, the scum of the Mogul empire, camp followers, brigands, and outlaws, who, from their headquarters at Malwa, foraged as far as Bombay and Madras. The Pindaris were a century-old menace to British India, especially along the east coast, where as late as 1816 they had entered the Northern Circars, plundering and destroying 339 villages.

Whenever Maratha groups split up, many joined the Pindaris, who had finally organized and equipped several large regiments led by Amir Khan. Against the combined troops of Marathas and Pindaris, a force estimated at 200,000 men, in 1816 Hastings sent an army of 120,000 soldiers. In a brilliant campaign that followed, which

lasted for only five months, the Deccan and central India were cleared of the Maratha-Pindaris menace.

The treaty of Poona, signed in June, 1817, marks the end of Maratha power in India. By it outlawry was ended, central India became largely British territory, and the boundaries of the Bombay presidency were extended by the addition of the peshwa of Poona's former domains. Almost as difficult as the war itself was the task of bringing peace, order, and good government to these war-torn lands. The management of this territory was now entrusted to Elphinstone, who was given the rank of commissioner of the Deccan. To Malcolm fell the colossal task of reorganizing the district of Malwa, adjusting its boundary disputes, and regulating its finances, land revenues, and internal administration.

Unfortunately the work of the Marquis of Hastings on behalf of British India was not fully appreciated by the court of directors in London. First of all, they disapproved of his policy of annexing Indian territory. Furthermore, insinuations of unsound policies and a display of favoritism were made against Hastings in the scandal involving the Palmer banking house difficulties at Hyderabad, a situation with which he was only indirectly involved. His connection with this fiasco was based on a purely social relationship, one of the Palmer partners having married his ward.

The case of Palmer and Company and their relations with the nizam of Hyderabad was unfortunate in the extreme. A banking firm which the Calcutta council had authorized to advance funds to the improvident nizam and his friends, this house had acquired immense influence in the country; the pleasure-loving nizam over a period of years had borrowed so heavily from his British bankers that their loans to him amounted to £1,000,000. This, at 25 per cent interest, the nizam had been unable to repay, with the result that the firm had acquired as collateral almost the entire revenues of the country, until checked by the British government. Many British officers had also been involved in the transaction, having placed funds with Palmer and Company for investment.

Partly because of the insinuations made that he had shielded

Palmer and Company in their difficulties, and partly because of ill health, in January, 1823, the Marquis of Hastings left Calcutta for England. In London he was cordially received by the East India Company, by whom he was granted an annuity of £5,000. As Hastings had not accumulated a fortune in England, he was forced to accept another post, the minor one of governor of Malta, where his death occurred on November 28, 1826.

Hastings, one of India's most brilliant governors, had joined together the ragged outlines of British India. During his rule central India, Rajputana, and the Deccan, the Maratha barrier that for decades had separated the three presidencies of Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras, were consolidated and placed under British jurisdiction. In the north Nepal and the warlike Gurkhas were made British allies under British protection. And, above all, native rulers throughout India had come to respect British arms, British rule, and British control.

Amberst, Bentinck, and Metcalfe

HIS SUCCESSOR was William Pitt Amherst, whose career as governor-general of India lasted from August, 1823, to February, 1828, a period of five years. The new ruler, who was born in 1773 and who had acquired his title in 1797 from his uncle, Baron Amherst, left Southampton for India on November 15, 1823, accompanied by his wife, daughter, and one son, on the *Jupiter*. While Amherst was on the high seas bound for his new post, his place was filled by John Adam, a member of his Calcutta council, who served as governor-general from January, 1822, to August, 1823.

Less than a month after his arrival, early in August, in Calcutta, Lord Amherst became involved in difficulties with the neighboring country of Burma, a land of whose importance England, for the first time, was to become fully aware. The Burma of that day was a comparatively new kingdom, having been in existence approximately seventy-five years.

Its birth occurred a year after Clive had won his great military victory at Plassey; at that time across the bay in Bengal a military leader called Alompra conquered Pegu, established his capital at Ava, and founded the kingdom of Burma. Since that day Alompra's dynasty had been gradually extending the boundaries of its territory northwest toward the vast alluvial plains of eastern Bengal, lush, rich lands watered by the Brahmaputra. Finally, as the frontiers were pushed north, the boundaries of Burma touched the buffer province of Assam, a semi-Hindu kingdom, lying between Burma and Bengal.

While Alompra was enlarging his kingdom, his country was being raided by bands of adventurers known as Maghs, or Mughhs, who had allied themselves with the Arakanese, a tribe of northern

Burma. The depredations of these outlaws were punished with such severity by Alompra that the culprits fled to the outlying province of Assam near the Bengal frontier, where they continued their acts of lawlessness. Crossing over into regions under British protection they looted Chittagong, Manipur, Cachar, and outlying districts where they carried off food supplies and livestock, and from where, in Lord Amherst's day, they were even threatening the English district of Sylhet. This was not their first invasion of British territory; in 1795 the Burmese, with 5,000 troops, had crossed over into Chittagong in pursuit of three robbers, an incident that was amicably settled after the British gave up the fugitives.

The most serious of these raids into British territory took place on September 23, 1823, when an armed party of Burmese attacked a guard of British troops stationed on the island of Shahpura at the mouth of the Naaf River, killing and wounding several soldiers. Protests sent soon after to the Burmese king at Ava, a haughty, vain, and imperious ruler, failed to check these raids. The assault on Shahpura was followed by further attacks by two Burmese armies who boldly entered Cachan, a British protectorate, early in January, from where, ignorant of the strength and power of the British army, they planned to march to Calcutta and drive the English out of India.

• After attempts to secure redress by peaceful methods had proved a failure, on March 15, 1824, the governor-general declared war on Burma. Two months later Burmese forces invaded Chittagong, and after defeating guards of sepoy and local police, withdrew into the back country.

Lord Amherst's first Burmese campaign—the first war, incidentally, undertaken by the Company outside of India, and which lasted two years—proved both difficult and hazardous. Three expeditions were now dispatched to Burma; one, consisting of British gunboats, was sent up the Brahmaputra to Assam; a second went south to Arakan; and a third crossed from Madras to the mouth of the Irawaddy River to attack Ava.

The movement of sepoy troops from India to Burma was not

accomplished without difficulty. Many, whose caste rules forbade them to cross the sea, had to be taken overland. Several regiments, including those stationed at the military barracks at Barrackpore, the governor-general's country residence, declined to fight unless their pay was raised. During the course of this controversy, on November 24, 1824, while Amherst and his family were living at Barrackpore, mutiny broke out in the cantonment, and endangered for a time the lives of members of the British colony.

Although the mutiny was checked, Lord Amherst's handling of the situation was sharply criticized by the court of directors in London, and rumors were soon afloat in India that he might be recalled at any moment. In India, however, the British public rallied to his defense. Describing it, Lady Amherst writes in her *Diary*:

"March 15 and 16, 1826. The town of Calcutta is in a great state of indignation at the recall. On the last day we went to the theatre never was public opinion so strongly marked; the plaudits were loud and reiterated and lasted so long it was quite overwhelming. Old Indians who had passed their lives here tell us they never saw anything at all to compare to this in the most brilliant days of Lord Wellesley and Lord Hastings, after their triumphant successes; everyone says it is the cause of an injured man, whose character has been unjustly aspersed by anonymous letters, as well as a faction thirsting for place and power who have taken every advantage."

Meanwhile, in Burma, the British army was encountering many difficulties and hardships. The British were unfamiliar with the country, the natives destroyed all food supplies, and the soldiers were constantly ill with dysentery, scurvy, and malaria. On May 10 Commodore Charles Grant, accompanied by Sir Archibald Campbell, his Madras troops, and the adventurous novelist, Captain Frederick Marryat, anchored off Ava, or Rangoon, which was soon captured.

But before it fell into British hands the Burmese withdrew to the north. Throughout the month of May English troops continued to attack the outlying towns, which were evacuated as the enemy, after destroying all food supplies, withdrew into the back country; throughout June and July sections of the coastal area of Burma were con-

quered by British forces. Toward the close of 1824 a battle took place at Rangoon, which the Burmese attempted to recapture and where, after defeating their enemies once more, the British made an ineffectual attempt to sign a treaty with them.

The war dragged on into the following year. In April the British marched 100 miles up the Irawaddy to Prome, capturing the city. Several months later the last major stand of the Burmese took place near Prome, where 60,000 natives were repulsed by a British force of only 5,000 soldiers. On February 24, 1826, the treaty of Yandabu terminated the war and placed the entire Burmese coast lying across the bay from Bengal in British hands. By this treaty the Crown and the Company now acquired the ricelands of Arakan, Tenasserim with its timber, the tea-producing land of Assam, and a protectorate over Jaintia and Manipur. They also received indemnity amounting to £1,000,000 and the right to send a British resident to Ava.

Although, by the Burmese campaign, the "Golden Monarch's insolence and pride" had been humbled, and English power was vastly enhanced by the acquisition of new territory and control over a new, alien race, yet the Burmese campaign had cost £14,000,000 and the loss of 20,000 soldiers. In Calcutta the end of the war was celebrated at Government House by an elaborate banquet, proclamations, and impromptu speeches, while fireworks blazed over the waterfront and guns boomed from warships anchored in the river. A token of appreciation made to Lord Amherst after the war was the bestowal on him of the title of Earl of Amherst of Arakan.

Despite the fact that Amherst's campaign was an outstanding success, yet, long after the war was over, slanderous tongues continued to belittle the labors of India's governor-general in the late war, a situation of which Lady Amherst writes bitterly:

"While Lord Amherst was laboring day and night for his employers, in measures that have since proved to be highly advantageous to their interest, and for the prosperity of the country entrusted to his care, many were listening to the base falsehoods, and to the base intrigues to recall him. . . . The Duke of Wellington evinced both magnanimity of mind and a thorough knowledge of the affairs of

India. The conduct of the war being referred to him, he declared his entire approbation of the manner in which it had been conducted, especially the attack upon Rangoon, a point on which our enemies were most virulent, and which in fact drew the Burmese from the Eastern frontier, which we had not then the means of defending, to Rangoon, the source of all the trade we possessed, the only seaport. The cabinet then refused to be a party to Lord Amherst's recall, which was agitated by the Directors the 22nd of last December, 1825. To this day, December 31st, 1826, Lord Amherst had not received a line from these gentlemen, notwithstanding all the great and glorious events which have occurred."

In addition to the Burmese war, a second campaign was undertaken during Lord Amherst's rule in central India at Bharatpur, a fort considered impregnable, where Sir Charles Metcalfe was stationed as British resident. Back in 1824 when Sir David Ochterlony held this same post, he had advised the government to support a minor candidate for the throne, at the time a dispute arose over the succession, and asked Amherst for troops for this purpose, a request that was refused. Ochterlony's successor, Metcalfe, discovered while he was a resident at Bharatpur, that the old rival of the British-backed candidate was again attempting to stir up discord and enlist the support of the Marathas in his behalf. Fearing a revival of the Maratha evil, Lord Amherst sent the commander-in-chief of the British army, Lord Combermere, with 20,000 men and 100 guns to Bharatpur where on January 18, 1826, the fortress, after being mined, was captured and the country made a British protectorate.

One of Amherst's last acts before leaving India was to make an official tour of the upper provinces, a tour on which he was accompanied by his wife. Of this trip Lady Amherst, whose accounts of contemporary life in India are full of wit, sparkle, and color, writes at length, describing the great levees, or gatherings, held in their honor at the large cities of northern India, where they met such notables as the former leader of the Marathas wearing "a small pointed gold turban, and a few large and splendid diamonds," and the once-great leader, Sindhia, now so ill that he could scarcely speak.

On this tour, Lady Amherst also saw the darker side of Indian life; such sights as "pilgrims, bound for a holy shrine, crawling like serpents from one end of India to the other at the rate of a mile a day," sights that filled her with gloom.

After completing his tour of good will, on March 8, 1828, Amherst, his wife, and daughter (the son who had accompanied them to India having died of fever) left Calcutta, reaching home in July, where they were reunited with the three sons who had remained behind at school in England. Here Lord Amherst entered at once into English public life, serving from 1829 to 1830 as Lord of the Bedchamber to George IV, and from 1830 to 1837 in the same capacity under William IV. Two years after the death of his first wife in 1837 he married again. He died just before the outbreak of the Indian mutiny on March 13, 1857.

Lord Amherst's successor was Sir William, later Lord, Cavendish-Bentinck, a former servant of the East India Company, who was the appointee selected by the Whig ministry and the court of directors in July, 1827, for the governor-generalship of India. William Bentinck, who was born on September 14, 1774, was the son of the Duke of Portland, a member of a distinguished Dutch family. In his younger days he had succeeded Lord Clive at Madras, where he had the distinction of being one of its youngest governors; and although, after the sepoy revolt in 1807, he was dismissed in disgrace from this post, yet in July, 1809, the court of directors passed a resolution that at some future time "his valuable qualities and honorable character might be employed, as they deserved, for the benefit of the country," a tacit testimonial to his character and worth.

Sir William reached India at the dawn of a new era, a time when steamers were first beginning to replace the staunch but slower sailing vessels. Two years before his appointment to Calcutta, the *Enterprise* made the run from England to India in 113 days, a voyage requiring considerably longer by sail; two years later the trip was shortened to 61 days when the Red Sea-Suez route, requiring change of steamer, was opened.

Bentinck, however, went out to India on an old-fashioned East

Indiaman, the *Undaunted*, reaching Calcutta in July, five months after his departure from England in February, 1828. En route to the Far East the *Undaunted* touched at the Cape where the new governor-general met and talked with his predecessor, Lord Amherst, from whom he received the latest reports from India. These, on the whole, were not favorable. Within the past four years the India debt had soared; the problem now faced by Bentinck, and faced by so many of his predecessors, was not solely the immense and heavy one of government but also the even more taxing one of reorganizing the financial structure of a vast, loosely co-ordinated British empire in India.

Thus the basic task on which Lord Bentinck was forced to concentrate his activities immediately upon his arrival in India was that of fiscal reform, one in which he was so successful that during his administration of British India a modern empire arose on the foundations of old India. His financial reforms were accomplished by the appointment of a civil and a military committee which he sent to visit the three presidencies, inspect their financial and economic management, and devise ways and means to lower expenses. Many drastic economies were introduced by these two groups, among which was the reduction, by court orders, of the batta, or extra pay given officers. Such reforms made Bentinck and his committees extremely unpopular in army circles.

To improve the administration of British India, in January, 1829, the governor-general visited the Company's northeast stations in Bengal, as well as Malacca, and the young port of Singapore. One result of this tour was a drastic reduction in the expense accounts at outlying settlements and the annexation of Prince of Wales's Island and its dependencies, also for motives of economy, to the Bengal presidency. At the same time the Bengal revenue was materially increased through new taxes on the opium monopoly, which changed the Company's India deficit to a surplus.

Yet Bentinck's rule was above all else humanitarian; it was marked by a high sense of justice, order, and consideration for human rights and privileges. The squalor, misery, and unrest, the chaos,

suffering, and confusion which surrounded the daily lives of millions of his Indian subjects weighed heavily on his kindly shoulders. Out of his humanitarian creed came the eradication of one of the greatest crimes of all India, the abolition of suttee, or the burning of Hindu widows on the funeral pyre of their deceased husbands; only a few years before Bentinck reached Calcutta nearly two thousand widows met death by fire in the Bengal presidency annually. Reminders of the so-called culpable suicides were visible everywhere in the thousands of tiny white pillars erected in holy places visited during pilgrimages. This ancient Hindu custom of suttee was officially abolished by Bentinck in 1829, despite complaints, threats, and insinuations on all sides that the English were interfering in the ancient rituals of the Hindu race.

Another reform introduced by the governor-general at this same period was his attempt to suppress the bands of hereditary assassins known as thags, or thugs, a secret order which worshipped the strange goddess Kali under whose patronage they pillaged, robbed, and murdered thousands of pilgrims year after year throughout India. These professional stranglers, who traveled in bands disguised as merchants and pilgrims, were bound by oath to commit a certain number of atrocities annually and dispose of their victims secretly. So grave was this menace in outlying sections of India that the traveler Tavernier regarded thuggee as one of the most serious obstacles to travel in all India. In Bentinck's day definite steps were taken to suppress thugs, and in one year alone more than 1,500 of Kali's followers were brought to justice.

Bentinck also enjoys the distinction of being the only governor-general in India whose rule was one of unbroken peace, a situation that made possible the constructive reforms introduced during his seven years in Bengal. Notwithstanding, he writes of the fundamental "instability of the British empire," a basic unrest which he compares to a barrel of gunpowder liable to explode at any moment. "One hundred millions of people in India," he writes, "are under the control of a government which has no hold whatever on their affections. British India may be assailed from the north by the Gurkhas;

from the east by the Burmese; from the north by the Sikhs and Afghans, and the hordes of Central Asia in co-operation or otherwise with Persia and Russia; from the sea on all other sides of the territory. In the native army which lacks physical strength and moral vigor alone rests our internal danger, and this danger may involve our complete subversion."

Sir William was among the first to believe that "India should be governed for the benefit of Indians," and he tried to establish a closer bond of friendship between the English and natives in the three presidencies. In an effort to better conditions in India he introduced a series of sweeping educational reforms, making English for the first time the official language of India. He also instituted freedom of the press.

Of considerable importance, too, during Lord Bentinck's administration in India were the explorations of Lieutenant Burnes, a young officer who with his superior's backing and approval traveled extensively between the Caspian Sea and the Indus. His accounts of political conditions and commercial openings in that territory paved the way for a British mission to the amirs of Sind. This unexplored area was beginning to have considerable political significance; the danger of encroachment by Russia, which was acquiring lands along the Caspian and which, by alliances with Persia, might endanger England's colonies, was now a topic of animated discussion at Anglo-Indian gatherings.

About this time a mission to Sind was undertaken by Colonel Pottinger at the request of Lord Bentinck. The military envoy left Bombay in December, 1838, and in January reached Hyderabad, the capital of Sind, where he made a commercial treaty with Ranjit Singh. It was a treaty made without enthusiasm and only after considerable persuasion, for the amirs of Sind did not wish to become embroiled with the English nation, which might ultimately lead to a protectorate.

British protectorates were now becoming a commonplace in India. Even during Bentinck's war-free regime, two areas were annexed to British territory. In 1830 Mysore, in southern India, was added to

the Madras presidency, as, four years later, was Coorg, a small country near Madras, where difficulties and disputes by rival candidates over the succession to the local throne ended in British interference and the establishment of a protectorate.

Before Bentinck left India, the East India Company's activities were seriously checked when its charter came up for renewal, and although in 1833 an extension was granted the Company for another twenty years, it was only on the condition that Europeans should be allowed to settle in the country. In the charter of 1833 the Chinese monopoly, which netted the Company an annual profit of a million pounds sterling, was cancelled. It was one cause, so the public felt, of the high cost of tea in England. The Company was also deprived of many of its commercial privileges and relegated to the position of an impoverished ward of Parliament and the Crown, which for twenty years left this unwieldy Oriental empire to founder in the hands of fate.

A year after the charter was put into effect, Lord Bentinck for reasons of ill health resigned from his post and in March, 1835, returned to England. His departure was a matter of profound regret to those who knew not only the man himself, but also his devotion to his task in India. Of him and his work it was said at this time: "He abolished cruel rites; he effaced humiliating distinctions; he gave liberty to the expression of public opinion; and his constant study was to elevate the intellectual and moral character of the nations committed to his charge."

The value of his contribution to the betterment of conditions in India was also expressed when, on September 26, 1834, the court of directors passed the following resolution:

"Resolved that this Court deeply lament that the state of Lord William Bentinck's health should be such as to deprive the Company of his most valuable services; and this Court deem it proper to record, on the occasion of his lordship's resignation of the office of governor-general, their high sense of the distinguished ability, energy, zeal, and integrity with which his lordship has discharged the arduous duties of his exalted station."

As he left India Bentinck handed the keys of Government House at Calcutta to his old friend and the senior member of the Calcutta council, Sir Charles Metcalfe, who had been appointed governor ad interim until Lord Auckland reached India. Like Bentinck, Sir Charles was a veteran servant of the Company and had held many official positions including that of lieutenant-governor of the North-Western Provinces. Although a conscientious, capable, and loyal administrator, life in India—where he spent thirty-eight years—was distasteful to him; he suffered constantly from homesickness and welcomed the advent of Auckland, which enabled him to return to his family and friends in England.

Afghanistan, the Punjab, and Sind

THE DECADES of expansion that followed the policy of Lord Clive and the final defeat of the Marathas had carried the East India Company far beyond the stage of peaceful trading into one of armed rule over vast territories. Now it was to enter upon a new phase, one that involved the northwest, especially Afghanistan, the rich and fertile lands of the Punjab, and the province below the Punjab known as Sind. In this northwestern triangle, the Company's activities brought it into a series of difficulties and disasters that materially damaged its prestige in India and led, indirectly, to its downfall.

Generally speaking, the territory in which the British now became so involved is defined by the Indus River and its many tributaries that rise in the western foothills of the Himalayas, and, after defining in the Punjab a gigantic arc, sweep southwest past Afghanistan and through Sind into the Arabian Sea. These waterways of the Punjab—land of the five rivers—nourish the rich wheat-producing lands for which this region is famous.

Equally rich in historic memories, the Punjab bears within its borders traces of many civilizations and cultures—Greek, Buddhist, Sikh, Mohammedan, and Hindu. In the early decades of the nineteenth century, within its 50,000 square miles lived some 4,000,000 inhabitants, primarily Hindus, Sikhs, and Mohammedans.

The most important group inhabiting the Punjab at this time were the Sikhs, a sect founded by Nanak in the days of Baber. After experiencing the enmity of Aurangzeb, the Sikhs developed into a race of powerful warriors. Known as the Puritans of India, they belong to a religious brotherhood called Khalsa, and are noted for

the semimilitary, semireligious fervor shown for whatever cause they espouse.

When the Mogul empire began to disintegrate, bands of nomad Sikhs settled on the banks of the Sutlej River and on the eastern plains watered by the Punjab, where, in 1799, the leader, Ranjit Singh, "Lion of the Punjab," made Lahore his capital. After acquiring the important center of Lahore, the Lion's territorial ambitions soon became evident. Finally, in 1808, he enlisted the assistance of the British, who welcomed a chance to form an alliance with Lahore and thus keep France out of this territory. The signing of a treaty between Charles Metcalfe and Ranjit Singh a few years later materially enhanced the power of this aggressive Sikh who soon annexed Cashmere and the Peshawar Valley, lands near Afghanistan.

These moves into the northwest brought Ranjit Singh and his allies dangerously close to their ancient enemies, the Afghans, and revived the fear, voiced by Lord Wellesley, that these hardy mountaineers might at some future date invade the plains of northern India. By this same move, Russia, a dangerous rival, and Persia, a hotbed of political intrigue with Napoleon, were also brought within range of British activities in the north.

Furthermore, the old Persian city of Kabul on the northwest border, now the capital of Afghanistan, was a hotbed of unrest. It was here, to Shah Shuja's court, that Lord Minto in 1809 had sent the British envoy, Mountstuart Elphinstone, to negotiate an alliance; but the unpopular Persian ruler was soon driven from the throne. His successor was Dost Mohammed, whose aim, politically speaking, was to attempt to retake Peshawar from the Sikhs.

In 1836 when George Eden, the new governor, later known as the Earl of Auckland, reached Calcutta to assume office, he received an affable letter from Dost Mohammed explaining his difficulties and asking the new governor to assist him to recover territory taken by the Sikhs. Terms, however, could not be agreed on. Soon after, in the fall of 1837, Alexander Burnes, a capable officer of the Indian army who had been sent on a special mission to Afghanistan and Persia, reached Kabul and was given quarters in the Bala Hissa, a

local fortified palace. At the time Burnes entered Kabul, Russian envoys were already in the city, currying favor with Dost Mohammed.

It was then that Auckland, fearing treachery, especially on the part of Dost Mohammed with Russia, decided to restore Shah Shuja, a less obnoxious and apparently pro-British Afghan, to the throne of Kabul. Under Auckland's direction, in March, 1838, the "army of the Indus," some 21,000 soldiers led by Sir John Keane, began their long march through the Bolan Pass to Afghanistan, where in August, 1839, they restored the former monarch to his throne. To insure his safety, a large body of British troops under General Elphinstone stayed on at the capital, where they witnessed the return of the fugitive Dost Mohammed who had surrendered and was held captive in Kabul.

In England the success of the first Afghan war renewed British confidence in the East India Company. On December 21, 1839, the governor was raised to the peerage under the title of Earl of Auckland and honors were freely bestowed on British officers who had participated in the campaign.

But in Kabul Shah Shuja failed to win the support and confidence of his Afghan subjects. British occupation of the city, too, was distasteful to the Afghan leaders. Finally anti-British feeling reached such a peak that in November, 1841, the British agent, Sir Alexander Burnes, was brutally assassinated. Within a short time another officer, Sir William Macnaghten, was killed during an interview with an Afghan chief, a son of the captive Dost Mohammed.

Conditions at Kabul continued to grow mote and more chaotic. On January 6, 1842, the British signed an agreement with anti-British Afghan leaders to remove their army of 4,500 soldiers, 700 of whom were Europeans, and to evacuate the city without delay. The British retreat from Kabul which began at this time took place in the dead of winter, at a time when the mountains were thick with snow. Soon after leaving Kabul, food ran low. Except for those who were captured during the difficult march through the mountains, all but one man out of the entire army died from cold, hunger, exposure, or the guns of Afghan bandits. The Kabul disaster, a severe blow to

British pride, prestige, and efficiency, shocked all England as well as British India.

British revenge for the ruthless treatment of the army in Afghanistan was swift and immediate. After a forced march on April 16, General Pollock's troops stormed the Khyber Pass. Within five months they had reoccupied Kabul, and re-established the invincibility of British troops in the northwest.

In English diplomatic circles Auckland's handling of the Afghan campaign, with its disastrous ending, was severely criticized. He was recalled in disgrace and Lord Ellenborough appointed to succeed him.

The new governor, Edward Law, Earl of Ellenborough, an Eton and a Cambridge man, was a popular statesman who believed in a policy of expansion in India. India he regarded as a state that should be absorbed ultimately by the crown. At heart he also felt that the old East India Company lacked the knowledge, finances, and army required to shoulder the burdens of its empire in India. A statesman, not a military leader, Ellenborough, although favoring a policy of peace, found upon his arrival at Madras in February, 1842, that the British were seriously involved in Kabul, and that in the Punjab and in Nepal ominous signs of danger were apparent.

Upon reaching Calcutta toward the end of February, Lord Ellenborough discovered that affairs in India had grown so critical that he left immediately for Allahabad to direct military operations in the northwest. In Afghanistan he reversed Auckland's policy of backing Shah Shuja, who was unable to win the support of his subjects, for he was of the belief that the ultimate possession of Afghanistan would be a source of weakness rather than strength to England. He felt the need of restoring British prestige "by the infliction of some signal and decisive blow to the Afghans, which may make it appear to them that we have the power of inflicting punishment upon those who commit atrocities and violate their faith."

What has been aptly termed "the tail of the Afghan storm" extended into the vast province of Sind, the Egypt of India, and the gateway to the northwest. Through this great land that lies between Baluchistan, the Punjab, Rajputana, and the Indian Ocean, flows the

sluggish Indus, an important artery of commerce. Of major importance in Sind were the strategic grain port of Karachi, the venerable citadel of Hyderabad, and the innumerable smaller cities whose Hindu-Mohammedan population produced fine silk embroideries, carpers, lacquer, leatherwork, and pottery.

Originally ruled by a Buddhist dynasty, in 711 Sind was conquered by Arabian caliphs, under whose control the country remained until absorbed by Akbar's kingdom. After the death of Aurangzeb, Sind was divided into several local dynasties ruled by amirs, the most important of whom, the Talpur amirs, made Hyderabad their capital, and were theoretically subject to Afghanistan.

As early as 1758 the East India Company established a factory at Tatta, situated on the Indus 48 miles from Hyderabad, but abandoned the post in 1775. Commercial relations with the amirs of Sind had not proved satisfactory during this period, an English trade mission to the court of Sind in 1799 also proved a failure, and it was not until ten years later that the British succeeded in making a treaty with the ruling heir that excluded French settlers from this territory. In 1820 another treaty, made by the amirs, forbade Americans and Europeans from settling in Sind. The amirs of Sind refused at all times to grant foreign concessions in their kingdom, and consistently discouraged visits from foreigners. Inasmuch as Sind was the western corridor leading directly to Afghanistan, its closed borders seriously hampered the movement of British troops between Bombay and the north.

In an effort to establish a more friendly relationship, an English officer, Colonel Pottinger, was now sent to Sind. Through his efforts a treaty was signed in Hyderabad on April 20, 1832, with Amir Murad Ali, which allowed British merchants and traders to travel through his territory. Travelers were denied the right to remain as settlers, or to bring in with them arms, ammunition, or military equipment. The new treaty thus gave English travelers access to the Indus, but did not allow British soldiers to pass through the amir's territory.

The decision of the governor-general, Lord Auckland, to attempt to prevent French, Russian, or possibly Persian advances into northern

India by placing a British sympathizer, Shah Shuja, on the Afghan throne, forced England to ask the amirs of Sind for passage through their land, offering, if granted this privilege, to cancel all claims of Shah Shuja to Sind.

Meanwhile, when the Afghan crisis arose, Sir John Keane led his troops boldly through the amirs' land. Unable to stem the march of British troops bound for Kabul, on March 11, 1839, a new treaty was signed with Sind. This virtually dissolved the confederacy of amirs in Sind, loosely held together under one ruler, gave each chief his own territory, established a British protectorate over Sind with headquarters at Tatta, forced the amirs to contribute to the support of British troops, and threw open the Indus, toll-free, to British commerce. Official reports which appear in the parliamentary papers of this period refer to the "undoubted value" of the treaty, "as the first advance toward that consolidation of our influence, and extension of the general benefits of commerce throughout Afghanistan, which form the great end of our designs."

The British commissioner sent to take charge of Sind at this time was Sir Charles Napier; he was accompanied by Sir James Outram, in charge of militia. Their task was to prevent a recurrence of what had happened at Kabul. Signs were not lacking that the amirs of Sind were proving tricky, restive, and unreliable. In November, 1842, by a new treaty signed with Sind, the Company acquired additional territory at Gwalior, an old Maratha stronghold in central India.

Difficulties occurring soon after at Gwalior during Ellenborough's regime, however, led to its absorption by the East India Company. Gwalior was acquired by a method often used by the British in India. In February, 1843, the local maharajah died without issue; his widow, following the time-honored Hindu custom, adopted a boy of eight to succeed him. Civil war followed and Ellenborough, claiming the right to suppress lawlessness and disorder, sent a British force under Sir Hugh Gough in December into Gwalior. Having defeated the Marathas, he signed a treaty whereby the English acquired certain revenue adequate to support a British army in Gwalior under the protection of a local commissioner, thus giving the Company a strong foothold there.

The Gwalior capitulation brought to a head a crisis that had long been smoldering between the Crown and the Company as to their India policy. Recent wars, costly affairs at best, in Afghanistan, Gwalior, and Sind, had antagonized the court of directors, committed to a policy of peace and commercial expansion, and the lack of attention paid by Lord Ellenborough to their wishes, his disregard of official orders, and his determination to follow the policy of his political supporters ended in June, 1844, in his official recall.

If Ellenborough's acts, his restoration of the name of England in Afghanistan, the territory he added to that already held in India, not to mention various military and civil improvements introduced while he was in office, were overlooked by the company, they were not disregarded by Parliament which honored him by a vote of thanks and the title of Earl of Ellenborough.

The third storm center of northern India was the Punjab, a land inhabited largely by Sikhs, a religious sect with considerable military training. The clash between the Sikhs, the last Hindu power in India to fall into British hands, and the British, occurred during the governorship of Ellenborough's successor, Sir Henry Hardinge. Fear of the British, of being absorbed by white Christians, of losing their lands, their faith, and their cherished independence, of suffering the fate of Bengal, of Gwalior, of Sind, appear to have inspired the Punjab Sikhs to attack the British. On December 13, 1845, war was unexpectedly declared by the Sikhs, whose army invaded British territory almost without warning. Lord Hardinge and Sir Hugh Gough, with an army of some 40,000, met the enemy five days later at Mudki, won a signal victory, and then attacked and routed the remaining Sikhs at Firozshah.

Much of the success of this military campaign may be attributed to Hardinge's presence at the front, and to his fine staff of officers, among whom were the two Lawrences, Napier and Havelock. Again on February 10, 1846, another decisive victory won by the British forces at Ferozpur culminated in the occupation, ten days later, of the Sikh capital, Lahore.

Hardinge's victories were acknowledged by the treaty of Lahore, signed on March 9, whereby the British placed a military protectorate

over the Punjab on behalf of the young maharajah, Duleep Singh. His mother, the regent, however, intriguing with her minister and paramour, Lal Singh, a man who was violently anti-British, began a regime of oppression and misrule, but their joint plots to foment unrest against the English were finally detected, and the rebellious regent banished. Confident that India was at peace, on January 18, 1848, Sir Henry Lawrence and Lord Hardinge returned to England.

But the Punjab, homeland of the Sikhs, was still unconquered. The colossal task of subduing it fell on the shoulders of James Ramsey, Marquis of Dalhousie, India's youngest governor, who took oath of office on January 12, 1848, at Calcutta. Of Scotch ancestry, Dalhousie was born on April 22, 1812, at Dalhousie Castle. His father, who had served under Wellington, was commander-in-chief of the British forces in India; his mother, a lady of distinguished ancestry, was noted for her grace and culture. Educated at Harrow and Oxford, after traveling on the Continent Dalhousie began the public career that led to his appointment as governor-general of India.

Dalhousie reached India confident that his rule would be one of peace. Schooled in the classics, his dream was not to make military conquests or seek personal aggrandizement, but to promote the moral and material advancement of India, to build railroads, canals, schools, universities. Yet despite his ideals for India, Dalhousie was fully competent to cope with crises as they arose.

Dalhousie realized soon after he reached India that the restive Punjab was facing problems that might lead to a new war. Although favoring peace, at a great military ball held at Barrackpore not long after his arrival, the governor said, "If our enemies want war, war they shall have, and with a vengeance." The first hint of trouble came in April when two members of the British civil service were murdered at Multan by the local governor, Mulraj. By November, at Dalhousie's orders, Lord Gough was moving his great army of 20,000 men and 100 guns into the Punjab.

On November 9 the second Sikh war began, when Lord Gough crossed the Sutlej to punish Mulraj. Early in January the fortress at Multan, the seat of dissension, surrendered, and Mulraj was captured. Then, after a series of minor engagements culminating

in the battle of Gujrat, the war was over. An elaborate durbar was held on March 30, 1849, and the Punjab proclaimed British territory. The maharajah was pensioned by the British and forced to leave the country.

The conquered Punjab now became Dalhousie's pet province, the land in which to glorify British talents for administrative genius, the place where the "Punjab system" which Dalhousie hoped would become a model for all India was to be tried. His first act was to appoint a select staff of civil and military officers that included Henry Lawrence, John Lawrence, Charles Grenville, and Charles Mansell, one of the ablest financiers of India, with headquarters at Lahore. Difficulties faced by this board, however, were so great that many reforms had to be abandoned; differences of opinion arose constantly among members of the group; and after four years a single commissioner, John Lawrence, was placed in full and sole charge of Punjab administration.

The conquest of the Punjab accomplished and a vast stretch of territory added to the Company's holdings, Dalhousie inaugurated a new policy, known as the doctrine, or right, of lapse, a method whereby many valuable provinces soon became British protectorates. Dalhousie, like many governors before him, believed that when a monarch died childless, heirs that had been adopted might inherit private property, but not political functions, for in the past adopted heirs had proved by experience to be troublesome, and civil war over disputed succession often followed, with the inevitable chaos.

Dalhousie substituted for the right of adoption what was called the right of lapse, a system by which a country without a legal heir became British property. In this way the East India Company, whose London directors favored the policy, acquired Satara, Jaipur, Baghat, Udaipur, Tanjore, Karauli, Nagpur, and finally Oudh, where they pensioned off the royal families.

Meanwhile, difficulties had arisen in Burma, the British flag had been insulted, and all Dalhousie's attempts at diplomatic redress had proved a failure. In the spring of 1852, after carefully equipping his army to withstand malaria, exposure to rains, and varying climatic conditions, General Godwin and his troops sailed for Burma, seized

Bassein and Rangoon, and attempted to make peace with the enemy. Overtures made proved ineffectual, for the Burmese ruler, continuing to defy the British, merely retreated into the interior. The Anglo-Indian army then retaliated by capturing Pegu, which was followed on December 20, 1852, by the annexation of Lower Burma.

Dalhousie had now added vast territories to the Company's holdings, territories that required to be consolidated, regulated, and governed. In this latter task his administrative genius was fully revealed, for he gave to India its first modern government. By creating a unified country, he has been aptly called the Maker of India, yet what Dalhousie did for India was accomplished at the cost of great personal sacrifice. In his prime when he reached his post, at the time of his departure in March, 1856, he was a crippled and broken old man. The loss of his wife while en route to Europe was a blow from which he was unable to rally, and by the time he reached England his health was so shattered that medical aid was useless.

Although emoluments were showered on him by the government, who recognized him as one of the greatest statesmen to rule India, and although the Company voted him £5,000 annually, Dalhousie shrank from contact with the public and returned to Dalhousie Castle where he died in December, 1860. Before he died he was to see the empire he believed invulnerable writhe in the throes of one of the greatest disasters known to history.

Mutiny in the Ganges Valley

DURING THE TORRID, enervating days of the month of May, 1857, the muffled beating of drums in the hands of Bengal sepoy troops reverberated throughout the Ganges Valley, ushering in one of the gravest disasters in the history of the British regime in India. It was the prelude to the sepoy revolt which, while it lasted, shook the very foundations of the British Empire in the East, revived for a time the old Mogul power at Delhi, resurrected the waning strength of the Marathas, and was the crucial test of the military strength of England pitted against that of venerable India. The record of its tragedies, its heroic acts, and its unspeakable atrocities forms perhaps the blackest of all pages in the annals of Far Eastern history.

The revolt was primarily the open challenge of Hindu-Moslem India against the inroads made by Christianity into their hallowed, age-old rights and customs; the struggle of patriotic Indians to retain their moral, intellectual, and religious independence. There is a profound note of truth, a subtle significance in the fact that in Europe this black cataclysm is called the Sepoy Mutiny or the Indian Mutiny, whereas in the Orient it is known as the Indian War of Independence. Starting as a religious revolt among the sepoys, or native soldiers, the uprising soon spread to civilian circles, where religious fervor rose to such peaks that acts of the utmost barbarity were committed in the name of Din, or Faith.

The Indian mutiny was the culmination of a long series of deep-seated grievances that developed as the British in India, after the victories of Lord Clive, graduated from the role of peaceful traders to that of colonial masters who controlled the lives, fortunes, and destinies of millions of Indian peoples. From the Indian viewpoint

these powerful new masters, backed by guns, ample funds, and virile leaders, had disregarded in many ways the laws and codes laid down by Mohammed, the Buddha, and the Hindu sages. All classes of Hindus keenly resented the new laws restraining wife-burning and the remarriage of widows. The Brahmins, the leading Hindu caste, feared the power of foreigners whose introduction of fire-carriages that traveled on shining rails and lightning-posts that carried strange messages showed their control over an unseen world. The Mohammedans feared that these new masters would prohibit circumcision, and force their women to go unveiled. All these British reforms, it was believed, were destroying a vital phase of Indian social life, the elaborate network of rank, dignity, station, and caste.

Discontent extended even to low-caste prisoners whose *lotah*, the cherished metal drinking vessel which the Hindu at all costs was forced to keep pure and undefiled, was often contaminated in prison, where the old Indian system of allowing each caste to cook separate dishes was abolished, and all men forced to eat and drink from the same receptacles. Great as was the administrative genius of men like Lord Dalhousie and Sir Henry Lawrence, far-reaching and constructive as had been their reforms, yet, as militarists rather than psychologists, they had failed in many respects to understand the subtleties, whimsicalities, and complexities of the Indian character.

Some Britishers, among them Sir Henry Lawrence, had observed years before the revolt that tiny, black clouds, heralding disaster, had begun to appear on the horizon of British India; that within the ranks of the sepoy army, which many military experts in India believed was one of the most cumbersome, costly, and inefficient ever supported, an undercurrent of unrest was apparent. Between 1844 and 1852 four minor mutinies occurred; troops, pleading caste rules, had refused to cross the sea to serve in Burma; and discipline and order were becoming lax throughout the ranks of the British army in northern India.

By 1856 throughout Bengal other and more ominous signs were appearing. Mysterious little cakes, made of flour and water, known as *chupattis*, began to circulate; six were sent to the headman of a village with instructions to make six more and pass them on to the

next settlement. At the same time lotus flowers, whose appearance the English officers were unable to explain, were sent from group to group.

Then came the fateful day, early in January, 1857, when a low-caste lascar, meeting a high-caste sepoy in the cantonment at Meerut, asked him for a drink from his lotah. But when the latter, fearing pollution, refused, the lascar merely laughed and said: "High-caste and low-caste will soon be the same, for the British have greased all our cartridges with pig and cow fat to destroy caste."

At Meerut, a large military depot in southern Bengal, this sinister tale spread like wildfire throughout the cantonment, the city, and the bazaar. Only a short time before, the new Enfield rifle, which could not be loaded unless the cartridge had been lubricated, had been substituted in the British army for the old musket, affectionately known as Brown Bess. This change had been made, it was now rumored, to destroy caste by forcing sepoys to handle the new caste-defiling bullets used to load the new Enfield rifles—bullets greased with the fat of the sacred Hindu cow, or that, forbidden to Mohammed's followers, of swine. In India the cow is a revered and sacred creature; it is so deeply venerated that even to taste its flesh brings defilement which cannot be purified. Whoever kills a cow has committed a crime which can be expiated only by the death of the offender. And so sepoys who touched the caste-defiling cartridges would, according to their religious beliefs, become social outcasts.

Throughout the bazaars another equally dangerous rumor also spread: the English were selling flour containing the ground bones of pigs and cows in order to destroy caste and thus force the natives to become Christians. In the barracks at Meerut the sepoys believed this report, refused to touch their daily ration of bread, and threw it on the ground. The effect of such rumors on the natives was to fill them with a terror bordering on religious frenzy, that soon spread from post to post. Simultaneously in the bazaars, those great news bureaus of Indian cities, the Kabul disaster in which so many British soldiers perished was discussed, magnified, and misinterpreted. British power, the natives said, had been shattered in the Afghan campaign, the British army had been annihilated, and British prestige

trodden in the dust. In Afghanistan the British were believed to have proven themselves vulnerable, cowardly, and weak.

In sepoy circles many felt that the hour was ripe to strike. By May premonitions of mutiny and rebellion were spreading along the Ganges, through the North-Western Provinces, through Hindustan, an area inhabited by some 33,000,000 natives that included all the five old cities of India. Many of these first signs and rumors of discontent were ignored by Lord Canning in Calcutta, and especially by John Colvin, lieutenant governor of the North-Western Provinces, both of whom had profound faith in the security of British rule in India. Only Sir Henry Lawrence seemed to sense the hidden significance of sepoy mumblings.

As these rumors increased, and no move was made to protect British residents, Lord Canning and his wife were sharply criticized for defending the natives; Mrs. Canning was also reported to have mentioned the "poor, dear sepoys" in a sympathetic manner, to the annoyance of the British colony in Calcutta. When the report came in that a revolt was sweeping over northern India, British residents, panic-stricken, began to clamor for protection and redress. "Except for the governor," Lord Elgin wrote upon reaching Calcutta from China, "there was hardly a countenance that was not blanched with fear." Finally, Lord Canning, who believed that the king of Oudh or his advisers had been urging their people to revolt, seized the king, brought him to Calcutta, and disarmed the sepoys in Oudh.

Meanwhile, early in February, at Dum-dum, near Calcutta, and at Berhampore, near Moorshedabad, where the nineteenth regiment was stationed, unrest over the greased cartridges reached fever pitch. All attempts made by the English up to this time to reason with the natives about the greased cartridges had proved futile. The officers publicly denied in the presence of their regiments that the fat of pigs or cows had been used in the lubricant prepared for the cartridges. They urged the natives to go to the bazaars and get whatever they wanted to use on the cartridges. Courts of inquiry, held to find out why the sepoys believed these rumors, could only report that the sepoys said it "smelled of cow's fat when burned." So acute was the situation that in March the regiment was ordered to disband, a

ceremony that was carried out before a large body of native troops at Barrackpore, another native station.

At Patna, a Mohammedan center, more ominous signs of revolt were appearing. Sepoys were also rising at Dinapore, at Arrack, at Jugdespore, at Aligarh. At the great metropolis of Agra, six thousand men, women and children, both British and native, retreated to the fortress for safety. In April, at Barrackpore, a sepoy, drunk with native liquor, killed an officer. Six days later, after being tried by native officers, he was ordered hanged.

From this same post, situated only 16 miles from Calcutta and headquarters for the social and military life of Fort William, letters were sent secretly to sepoy throughout India, urging them to defy the British. As the tale of the greased cartridges circulated, within the hearts of the sepoy there developed a frenzied spirit of unrest, soon revealed by vandalistic acts. Then the local telegraph station was burned one night and glowing arrows thrown on the thatched roofs of the officers' quarters.

At Umballa, a station a thousand miles or more beyond Barrackpore, and other remote depots, a series of incendiary fires mysteriously appeared. At Meerut about this same time sepoy refused to handle greased cartridges. Then, early in May, an entire regiment mutinied at Lucknow, where the English, incensed and enraged at the sepoy's boldness, ordered eighty-five mutineers sentenced, in the presence of their regiment, to ten years' imprisonment.

An Indian writer, Romesh Dutt, describes the English method of handling culprits as follows:

"The eighty-five were then brought forward, clad in their regimental uniforms—soldiers still; and then the sentence was read aloud, which was to convert soldiers into felons. Their accoutrements were taken from them, and their uniforms were stripped from their backs. Then the armourers and the smiths came forward with their shackles and their tools, and soon, in the presence of that great concourse of their old comrades, the eighty-five stood with the outward symbols of their dire disgrace fastened upon them. There was not a sepoy present who did not feel the rising indignation in his throat."

Then, on the evening of the following day, Sunday, May 10, while the English residents of Meerut, the largest military cantonment in India, were on their way to church, mysterious columns of smoke began to appear. Almost simultaneously came the roar of guns. The dreaded Indian mutiny had begun. In a moment all Meerut was in an uproar. Sepoys ran amuck, murdering European officers, pillaging, destroying and burning houses, attacking and killing bed-ridden invalids, the aged, helpless children. As jails were thrown open by the mobs, criminals, mingling with the rabble, joined the blood-maddened gangs of murderers. Only a handful of Europeans living in Meerut escaped; these, aided by loyal servants, hid in an abandoned temple.

Having completed their work of havoc, the sepoys, followed by a crowd of civilians, moved on toward the old Mogul capital of Delhi. What few European officers and troops had not been killed at Meerut made no attempt to pursue the mob, an act for which they were severely criticized, but remained behind to protect their post, merely telegraphing news of the revolt to the British colony at Delhi.

By dawn of the eleventh Meerut mobs were pounding at the gates of Delhi, richest city of India and the seat of Mohammedan art, culture, and faith. Forcing open a gate, they appeared before the palace urging the former mogul, Bahadur Shah, to revolt, reassume the imperial title, become their leader, and head the fight against the British on behalf of the faith. Inside the palace walls the battle-call of Mohammed's followers—*Din*, or *Faith*—was heard again and again. Reluctant to lift a hand against his English protectors, Bahadur Shah hesitated before the mob, while Captain Douglas, addressing the sepoys from a balcony of the palace, urged them to disperse.

Their only retort to his pleas was to seize the great Delhi gate, which was gallantly defended by a handful of Englishmen who sacrificed their lives to defend their post. To save the Delhi magazine filled with powder from falling into the hands of the mob, nine gallant English soldiers set a fuse to it, bravely facing a tragic but heroic end. As the mutiny gained momentum, British officers were shot down by the sepoys, European houses were burned, and another stronghold, the Cashmere gate at Delhi, controlling one of the main

highways, captured. A few regiments that remained loyal protected their officers and assisted those Europeans who had been unable to leave Delhi to escape that same night. Meanwhile, the shah was proclaimed mogul, and replaced on the Delhi throne.

Among the horrors of the mutiny at Delhi was the confinement of fifty European men, women, and children, who had been placed for protection in what was known as Flagstaff Tower, in a local dungeon, where they were brutally murdered in the presence of large crowds and their bodies thrown in the river.

The Delhi victory was the fuse that ignited the sepoy revolt throughout the northwest, Oudh, and Lower Bengal. Through the efforts of Sir Henry Lawrence, however, the Sikh population of the Punjab remained loyal to the English colors, as did the native armies around Bombay and Madras. In central India, to the contrary, with the exception of Hyderabad, most of the great chiefs joined the revolt.

From Meerut and Delhi the revolt spread to Cawnpore, the seat of another great native garrison of India, which lies 600 miles from Calcutta on the south bank of the Ganges in the center of a rich agricultural district. Cawnpore, which was in charge of Sir Hugh Wheeler, a brave and able leader, was a strategic point, since it guarded the road to Delhi in addition to being the center of one of the largest groups of sepoys in India. Cawnpore was also the home of the former peshwa, the Nana Sahib, or Dhondu Pant, and when the sepoys stationed at this cantonment mutinied on June 6, the Nana became their leader.

At Cawnpore there occurred one of the blackest episodes in the history of the mutiny. With only a few Europeans to protect them—there were 900 English soldiers and 10,000 trained sepoys in the cantonment—a large group of English women and children were besieged for nineteen days under a tropical June sun.

The revolt broke out on June 5. On the sixth the Nana was proclaimed peshwa; the insignia of rank was solemnly marked on his forehead, and the city turned out to celebrate the restoration of Maratha rule. Then, at the head of a mad sepoy mob, the peshwa returned to attack the British residency at Cawnpore. The days and nights that followed the attack brought acute suffering to the handful

of Englishmen defending the residency. Every drop of water used had to be hauled by hand from a small well constantly exposed to enemy fire. Dogs and horses were killed to supply food. Worst of all, medical supplies and instruments were destroyed when an exploding shell struck the improvised hospital.

On June 27, relief seemed within sight for the exhausted colony when the Nana sent a message to the British settlement by a Christian woman, addressed "To the subjects of Her Most Gracious Majesty, Queen Victoria." The Nana's message read: "All those who are in no way connected with the acts of Lord Dalhousie, and are willing to lay down their arms, shall receive a safe passage to Allahabad." The British were in a desperate plight, without instruments, without medicines, with only enough provisions for a few days, with half their men incapacitated, with communications cut off from the outside world. No one knew that Havelock was already marching to their relief when the message was received in the residency.

Relying on the Nana's promise of safe conduct, on June 27, 450 British men, women, and children left the city in palanquins, on elephants, and in litters for Allahabad. Just as they were entering the boats that were to carry them down the Ganges, the sepoys began to fire at them from the banks, killing three hundred of them instantly. More than a hundred were captured later; only one boat, carrying four men, escaped. With his countrymen dying around him, an officer, his arm wrapped in a sling, stood up in his boat and read from the prayerbook of the Church of England until killed by a bullet.

The crowning horror of the tragedy of Cawnpore was the brutal massacre on July 15 of the helpless victims whom the Nana had taken prisoner, and on whom his men were ordered to fire. The victims, many of whom were still alive, were then thrown into a well. It was on these mute evidences of tragedy in and near the well that the long-expected English army, Havelock's relief, gazed when they reached Cawnpore only two days after the disaster. Reports of what they saw there first stunned, then roused to fever heat, every British soldier throughout India.

While Cawnpore was in the hands of mutineers, the uprising spread to Lucknow, another great military cantonment in the Ganges

Valley, where Sir Henry Lawrence was stationed. At Lucknow, warnings of mutiny were received in time for the British to make preliminary preparations for self-defense; under Lawrence's direction the English forces, approximately 1,720 fighting men, were concentrated in the residency entrenchments, an area covering 60 acres of ground on which stood a number of houses, gardens, and public edifices protected by parapets, stockades, and batteries. In the residency proper, which stood on the summit of a plateau and contained many large apartments and a number of underground rooms, the women and children took refuge.

With his knowledge of Indian affairs, Sir Henry felt that it was only a question of time before his post, too, would be attacked, for from all sides, from Durreabad, Sultanpore, Sirpur, came confirmation of fresh outbreaks.

Sepoys at Bareilly, the capital of Rohilkhand, rose in revolt toward the end of May. Early in June mutiny broke out at Azingush and at Benares. On the sixth, native troops at Allahabad, an important military center, attacked their officers, wrecked their houses, and assaulted the white women. In addition to this disaster, late in June the handful of Englishmen who had rallied to the defense of Azingush were victims of a serious outbreak of cholera, an epidemic in which twenty men often died in one night. Those that survived were rescued from the mutineers by the timely arrival on June 30 of Colonel Havelock's forces.

At Peshawar, on the other hand, the city was saved by the quick action of the British residents. Before the revolt gained headway, 120 natives were taken prisoner, and 40 of them blown from a cannon, a barbaric method of torture originally introduced and used by the Moguls as a warning to mutinous sepoy. The fate of the Peshawar rebels left an indelible impression throughout India, instilling in the natives an abject fear of British forms of retribution.

With mutiny on all sides, Lucknow was unable to avoid the storm that was sweeping the north. In July sepoy began to bombard the hastily fortified residency where two days later an irreparable loss was experienced in the death of one of the great leaders of India, Sir Henry Lawrence, who was mortally wounded by a shell that ex-

ploded in the room where he was mapping plans for the city's defense.

The tale of how a few British soldiers defended Lucknow is one of the most heroic records in history. For eighty-seven hideous days and nights the assaults of rebels and the pounding of enemy guns against the weak entrenchments of the residency were bravely repulsed by the men within at terrific cost, most of the officers being killed or wounded. Buoyed only by the hope of rescue by British troops known to have been sent to their aid, the British colony kept up a determined resistance until finally rescued on September 25 by the combined forces of Outram and Havelock. The relief, which had fewer than 1,500 men and ten poor guns, was unable to capture the native city, however, and so reinforced what Englishmen at Lucknow were still capable of fighting. In the middle of November further relief headed by Sir Colin Campbell reached Lucknow, took possession of the city, and removed to safety the wounded men, women and children who had survived the horrors of the long confinement.

While Englishmen besieged at Lucknow, Cawnpore, and other English cantonments were fighting for their very existence, British troops from Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, China, Persia, and England were being rushed at Lord Dalhousie's orders to the seat of the mutiny along the Ganges. The first reinforcements that arrived came in under Sir James Outram from Persia, and were dispatched to the aid of Allahabad. The main relief regiments from England, numbering 14,000 men in command of Sir Colin Campbell, reached Calcutta in August. Before Outram and Campbell reached Calcutta, there were in India less than 20,000 British soldiers to stem a mutiny that had spread to 300,000 native, English-trained sepoy equipped with the best modern rifles.

The psychology of the sepoy mutineers was an enigma to British officers. In times past the sepoys, among whom incidentally were many religious fanatics, had been conscientious, loyal, and brave soldiers, who lived quietly, clinging tenaciously to the time-honored faith, traditions, and customs of their forbears. British officers regarded the quiet-mannered India sepoy as a paradox. To them he seemed a creature full of whimsicalities, inconsistencies, and contradictions; often gentle, often cruel; easily excited, and as easily de-

pressed; mildly credulous yet stubborn in his convictions. Of late many incidents had occurred to shake the sepoy's faith in the superiority of British officers, especially the English fiasco at Kabul. Their attempts to bring India under English control were growing more numerous; and would soon lead, according to the general belief, to the subjugation of all India.

From the strictly native viewpoint the mutiny, starting apparently as an anti-British revolt, culminated in a quasi-religious movement to exterminate all Feringhees, or Christians, from India. The native point of view is described by an Indian writer as follows:

"The mutineers, rising as they believed in defense of their caste and faith, disgraced and blackened their cause by the inhuman, brutal, and barbarous massacre of defenceless women and children. On the other hand, British troops burnt down villages along their route of many hundreds of miles, turning the country into a desert; British conquerors massacred the inhabitants of Delhi after the mutineers had escaped, and British special commissioners executed thousands of citizens of Northern India, guiltless of the Mutiny."

After the first outbreaks occurred and while Sir Colin Campbell was still on the high seas, General Anson, commander-in-chief of the Indian army, was recalled from Simla. Marshaling three English regiments that had been stationed in the foothills of the Himalayas, he marched south to storm Delhi. The loss of this stronghold had been a severe blow to British prestige in India, and Canning's first move was to attempt its recapture.

Anson began the siege of Delhi on June 8, when a British army of 8,000 men encamped on a rocky ridge 60 feet high, 2½ miles from the city, set up their guns, and opened fire on the walls, which were defended by 30,000 natives. The major assault took place on September 14, after reinforcements under Nicholson had arrived. So keen were their tragic memories of the old Mogul capital, where many soldiers had lost wives, children, and friends in the first days of the revolt, that the British forces fought as they had never fought before. Climbing scaling ladders, the British officers and men gained the ramparts, then 'spiked the guns, blew in the Lahore and Cashmere gates, and recaptured Delhi."

The venerable Mogul king escaped with his two sons and hid near Delhi in a white marble mausoleum known as Hoomayon's tomb, where, surrounded by 6,000 servants, he was soon captured. The former mogul was banished by the English to Rangoon, where he died in 1862, aged ninety, thus bringing to an end Akbar's line. His sons, the two princes, who were believed to have been the instigators of many atrocities against the Christians, were shot down in cold blood by Hodson, a British officer, an act for which he was criticized by the British government.

Anson's victory at Delhi was the first of a series of military triumphs for the avenging English armies. The Delhi campaign was followed by one under the leadership of Sir Colin Campbell, who left Calcutta on October 27 to rescue the besieged garrison at Lucknow. From a purely military standpoint, Campbell's campaign ranks as one of the outstanding events of the Indian mutiny. After a forced march, the Lucknow residency was relieved by British troops, and the women, children, sick, and wounded removed under enemy fire to Cawnpore. At the time of their rescue the English at Lucknow were in a perilous condition. "The travel-worn bearers," Sir Colin writes, "could scarcely stagger under their loads; the sick men groaned and died; but still, 'on, on, on,' was the cry."

On November 29, Sir Colin's army reached the outskirts of Cawnpore. Although defended by an army of 25,000 native troops, on December 6 the city capitulated. This victory was followed by a series of successes and for the next eighteen months the British regiments concentrated their entire strength in an effort to crush the mutiny in cities north of the Ganges.

Beyond the Ganges the revolt had centered in four main areas, Delhi, Lucknow, Cawnpore, and Rohilkhand. A fifth and less accessible danger zone stretched across central India. The defense of this wild region was entrusted to Sir Hugh Rose, under whom were assembled 4,500 soldiers recruited from the Bombay and Madras presidencies. Rose's brilliant and successful campaign, in the face of terrific heat and a forced march of more than 1,000 miles over difficult country, is one of the highlights of Indian history.

†In central India sepoy revolutionists murdered the English colony

at Jhansi and placed a new ruler on the throne. One of Sir Hugh Rose's first tasks was to recapture the Jhansi fort held by rebel forces, accomplished on April 1 after a siege lasting only seventeen days. It was a major victory for the British forces, Jhansi having been one of the main strongholds held by the revolutionists west of Bengal. Soon after, on May 28, the important fortress of Gwalior, south of Agra, where the ruler of Jhansi had taken refuge, was stormed and captured.

By June the mutiny in central India had been broken; the country was comparatively quiet, and except for bands of roving rebels that had to be driven from the country, Rose's campaign was over.

Back in England the death-knell of the East India Company had been sounded by the calamities brought on by the mutiny. The dual form of semipublic, semiprivate control was condemned as ineffectual; the East India Company was censured for its policy; the English government was harshly criticized for its annexations, its Afghan campaign, and its interference in the affairs of ruling dynasties.

As the extent of the mutiny became known in England, the future destiny of India was eagerly debated in parliamentary circles. As a result of these debates, on February 12, 1858, Lord Palmerston presented a bill for the regulation and better government of India, which was carried six days later by a vote of 318 to 173.

This bill was never executed. The following day the Liberal ministry was turned out of office, and a second India Bill was introduced on April 30 by Disraeli, who offered a resolution "that it is expedient to transfer the government of India to the Crown." A third and amended India Bill, presented by Lord Stanley, finally passed the House of Lords on August 2, 1858.

Lord Stanley's measure, known as the Government of India Act, which provided that the government of these territories and all control previously vested in the East India Company should pass to the Crown, contained sixty-seven clauses, and covered every phase of control, including an outline of a new plan for government.

Lord Stanley's Act of 1858, which changed a great trading company into an English empire overnight, contained these salient points: "Whereas the territories in the possession or under the government

of the East India Company were continued under such government, in trust for Her Majesty, until Parliament should otherwise provide . . . and whereas it is expedient that the said territories should be governed by and in the name of Her Majesty, be it therefore enacted . . . as follows:

"The government of the territories now in possession of the East India Company, and all powers exercised by the Company in trust for Her Majesty, shall cease to be vested in or exercised by the said Company; and shall become vested in Her Majesty and be exercised in her name; and India shall mean the territories vested in Her Majesty as aforesaid and all territories which may become vested in Her Majesty and be exercised in her name.

"India shall be governed by and in the name of Her Majesty . . . and all the territorial and other revenues of or arising in India, and all the tributes and other payments . . . shall be received for and in the name of Her Majesty, and shall be applied . . . for the purposes of the Government of India alone.

"All treaties made by the said Company shall be binding on Her Majesty, and all contracts, covenants, liabilities, and engagements of the said Company made, incurred, or entered into before the commencement of this Act may be enforced by and against the Secretary of State in Council."

Several months later, on November 1, 1858, Lord Canning, accompanied by Sir Colin Campbell, who had been knighted by the Crown, given an annuity of £2,000, and the title of Lord Clyde, together with General Mansfield's staff and a large bodyguard, rode in state through a long line of soldiers to an elaborate platform that had been erected near the fort at Allahabad. Near this dais there had gathered a galaxy of uniformed officers, civilians, European ladies, and influential Indian leaders.

There, as the British colors were raised above the platform, the following royal proclamation, issued by Queen Victoria to her new Indian subjects, in which she took over the lands where more than two and one-half centuries ago her illustrious predecessor, Queen Elizabeth, had sent the first English traders, was read to the assembled crowds by the new governor-general of India, Lord Canning.

"Victoria, by the grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and of the Colonies and Dependencies thereof in Europe, Asia, Africa, America, and Australia, Queen, Defender of the Faith.

"Whereas, for divers weighty reasons, we have resolved by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in Parliament assembled, to take upon ourselves the government of the territories in India heretofore administered in trust for us by the Honourable East India Company.

"We hereby announce to the native princes of India that all treaties and engagements made by them by or under the authority of the Honourable East India Company are by us accepted, and will be scrupulously maintained, and we look for the like observance on their part.

"We desire no extension of our present territorial possessions, and while we will permit no aggression upon our domains or our rights to be attempted with impunity, we shall sanction no encroachment on those of others. We shall respect the rights, dignity, and honor of native princes as our own; and we desire that they, as well as our own subjects, should enjoy that prosperity and that social advancement which can only be secured by internal peace and good government.

"We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian territories by the same obligations of duty which bind us to all our other subjects, and those obligations, by the blessing of Almighty God, we shall faithfully and conscientiously fulfil."

Britain Attempts Reform in India

TRANSFER OF THE vast holdings of the venerable East India Company to the Crown was not accomplished without long and acrimonious discussions between its shareholders and Parliament. Although the Company had fought bitterly to save itself from disaster, yet it recognized that it was the victim of changing times. The age of private monopolies had passed; a new era in which the well-being of the majority replaced that of a chosen few had begun.

Among the final communications penned by the directors of the East India Company was this message to Queen Victoria which accompanied the "gift" of the Company's properties: "Let Her Majesty appreciate the gift, let her take the vast country and the teeming millions of India under Her direct control; but let Her not forget the great corporation from which She received them, nor the lesson to be learnt from their success."

The East India Company was not dissolved immediately. Twenty-five years before the mutiny at the time the trade monopoly was removed, Parliament had guaranteed to pay stockholders £630,000 annually for forty years. Inasmuch as this period had not yet expired, a chairman, five directors, and a secretary were retained to terminate the Company's unfinished business. They moved into small quarters in Moorgate Street and the secretary of state and his council became masters of East India House until their new quarters at Westminster near the Foreign Office were completed. The old East India House on Leadenhall Street was then demolished, and furniture, paintings, statues, and valuable records moved to the new offices, while the less important records and mementos were sent to the British Museum and later to the Victoria and Albert Museum.

It was inevitable that acquisition of the East India Company by the Crown should revolutionize the political life of England. To the small island empire there were now added lands of unbelievable magnitude, rich, densely populated, teeming with peoples of alien blood, beliefs, tastes, and needs. Two-thirds of India now belonged to England, while a large part of the balance was controlled by alliances and treaties. England had acquired immense new power almost overnight.

In 1858, Parliament issued to the peoples of India a proclamation of peace and to all those who had participated in the mutiny, with the exception of those convicted of murder, a general amnesty. This was followed by an extensive tour of India by British officials with the object of assuring the native rulers that they could rely on the friendship and protection of England.

In England a complete reorganization of the government of India was inaugurated. The most important change made at this time was the replacement of the old board of control by a council of fifteen, eight of whom were appointed by the crown and seven by members of the old Company whose stock entitled them to this privilege. One of the basic qualifications essential to serving on the enlarged board was a residence of at least ten years in India. The council had complete charge of all matters pertaining to India. Its duties were manifold: it controlled and disbursed revenue; it was the clearing house for official business with the viceroy; it guided British policy in India as defined by Parliament and the Crown.

In India a viceroy with administrative headquarters at Calcutta now replaced the governor-general. A new executive council, each member of which had charge of a special department in India, was appointed to serve with the viceroy. At the same time certain changes were made in the administration of the provinces. Madras and Bombay continued as presidencies under the control of local governors and local executive councils. Simultaneously Bengal, the Punjab, and the North-Western Provinces were placed under their own lieutenant governors, while less important regions, Oudh, Burma, and Assam, were assigned to chief commissioners.

The various provinces were then grouped into major divisions,

each under its own commissioner. These groups were in turn subdivided into districts comprising several thousand square miles each. Every district had its own civil service officer who collected and handled the local revenue, had charge of courts, schools, police, and general business. A board of natives was also appointed in each province to assist and advise the British officials. Although vestiges of the Company's policy of paternalism and mildly despotic rulership remained, yet with the appointment of a native board a movement toward freer government was begun.

One of the most troublesome problems faced by the Crown in the process of reorganization concerned the native states, large and small, scattered throughout India. Their relations with the East India Company, which had treaties with the largest and most important of them and which the crown inherited, fell into three main groups. In one, which included such lands as Baroda and Mysore, classed as independent states, England controlled their foreign policies and had extensive rights within the state itself. In another the Crown acquired control not only of all external relations but also secured the right to commandeer all resources of the native state in time of war. With the third class, into which the vast and important state of Hyderabad fell, England guaranteed military protection in return for aid in the event of war.

The status of many of the smaller native states was indefinite in the extreme. The disputes, claims, and arguments that arose from time to time were entrusted by the Crown to British residents, or advisers, who lived at the capitals of all important native rulers.

Before the mutiny several thousand men had been stationed in the leading states, their expenses being paid from revenue out of land set aside for this purpose. Under Crown control, however, these troops were withdrawn, but the revenue retained. All naval and military forces of the Company in India were placed under the Crown, 24,000 officers and men donning the new royal uniform. This army was augmented by a standing force of 76,000 white soldiers and 120,000 natives.

From the Company the Crown inherited not only its properties but a large debt as well. Campaigns in Afghanistan and Burma and

Finally the mutiny had added £40,000,000 to its burden, which now reached £100,000,000. Although the Crown's annual India income, which came primarily from land revenues and taxes on opium and salt, was one-half its total debt, yet the expenses of governing India were so excessive that a financial adviser was sent out to Calcutta from England and plans inaugurated to readjust the entire financial structure of British India.

The policy England adopted at this time was to attempt in every way to conciliate and protect native rulers. One source of discord, the doctrine of lapse, was abolished, leaving rulers free to follow their ancient custom of adopting an heir to the throne. Confiscation of native property was no longer permitted, and minor forms of abuse in so far as possible were eradicated. The Crown also promised to refrain from interfering in Indian rites, customs, and religious observances, and to allow India to live in peace.

Gradually English innovations were introduced into India. A department of public works was founded; attempts to improve irrigation and sanitation were made; the Ganges canal was opened; the construction of railroads was begun; the telegraph was introduced for the first time; roads were built; cheap postage was introduced; secondary schools and universities were established at Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras patterned after those in England.

Royal visits to India were an important part of the British reconstruction program. A tremendous ovation was accorded the Prince of Wales when he visited the country, and when Queen Victoria was crowned Empress of India at a great durbar held in Delhi in 1877 the leading princes and officials from all over India attended.

Unfortunately, the durbar in honor of Queen Victoria was held during one of the worst famines ever known in India and although supplies were rushed to the sufferers and millions of pounds spent for relief, yet five million subjects of the newly crowned empress perished. It brought to the attention of the Crown, however, the fact that death from famine and pestilence occurred periodically in India when the monsoons failed, when crops withered, or when epidemics swept the land. To find a remedy for these disasters was one of the most difficult problems faced by the British governing class. The first

attempt to meet it was made by increasing transportation facilities, thus expediting the distribution of supplies.

But the advent of European innovations destined to improve the lot of the natives of India served instead to foment restlessness and discontent. There lingered among certain groups a bitterness toward the white conquerors: memories of the mutiny did not die easily: there were many natives who harbored black resentment at the thought of the punishment inflicted on the ringleaders blown from the mouths of great British guns. To many the mutiny had acquired a patriotic and religious significance; it served to enhance their desire to protect what Hindus and Moslems held sacred. Outwardly the Crown might prohibit them from carrying arms, but the combined might of England could not extinguish the inner flame that burned in their souls.

Certain groups in India had special grievances. Mohammedans, who hoped to see a Mogul restored to the Delhi throne, attributed the decline of Moslem power in India to England, and their dislike of their new ruler was so intense as to supersede their age-old antipathy to the Hindus. A rebellious spirit still smoldered among the Marathas toward British rule. They were especially bitter because their ancestors had fought desperately to keep English merchants out of India and had met defeat; they were bitter because some of the worst atrocities committed at the time of the mutiny were the work of their people, and they had been mercilessly punished. Then there were many Hindus who shared the same anti-British feeling. The Hindu dislike of alien rule was based fundamentally on the fact that this was the second time that an alien race had invaded their peaceful land and now their ancient antipathy toward the Moslems was shared with the new masters. The British, however, were aware that discord between Hindus and Moslems redounded to their benefit and that in a union of these potent forces lay almost certain danger.

Unwittingly England had failed to provide for the spiritual needs of her adopted country, to consider the variety of the requirements of its heterogeneous people. The Crown had disregarded the old village system, so vital a part of India with its patriarchal group of elders who understood and were able to supply the essentials of life

to the villagers, and had replaced it by an economic machine that operated from far-away England. Slowly the self-sufficient little communities that had been the hub of old India were being engulfed by the workings of this foreign, unabsorbable machine.

At the same time Western education, which was designed to inculcate European ideals and beliefs and to bring enlightenment to India, reacted toward making those who received its benefits more restless and discontented. It was soon evident that intellectual development was not a factor in drawing the two nations closer together. Rather it was apparent that knowledge of world affairs was creating a gulf between England and India. Thoughtful Indians began to espouse the cause of their homeland and to question the benefits of British rule. They resented the heavy cost of supporting absentee landlords for they knew that the taxes imposed on the natives were a crushing burden to the poor. They saw that the agricultural class, the mainstay of the population, was living on a margin dangerously close to the starvation level, that peasant incomes averaged no more than from two to five pounds a year, and that millions still died whenever a famine or plague swept the country. And above all they resented the fact that the wars fought on behalf of England in Africa, Afghanistan, and the Near East were partially financed by taxpayers in India.

In the decades following the new regime many able viceroys, Lord Canning, Lord Elgin, Sir John Lawrence, and Lord Northbrook, all of them strong rulers, came out to Calcutta. Yet these leaders were too engrossed with the mechanics of reorganization in India, with solving the immediate, pressing problems of state, to heed the undercurrent of discord.

What England wanted above all else in India was peace; peace was imperative for progress. Yet soon after the Crown acquired control Mohammedan fanatics began to arise west of the Indus in the Hindu Kush. Enlisting loyal Moslems from the Punjab, they raided and plundered the lowlands under the banner of religion, a magnet that never failed to draw thousands of supporters.

On the northwestern frontier danger of Russian encroachment was also gaining momentum. Samarkand was brought under their control; friendly relations had been established by Russia with

Afghanistan; aid had been extended to a claimant to the Kabul throne. North of the Khyber Pass there were many indications that English influence was on the wane.

Rival political parties in England were united in favoring a policy of nonaggression in this mountainous terrain where disputes among Dost Mohammed's successors had kept the land in a state of civil war over long periods; British viceroys, however, feared that the Russians might attempt to use Afghanistan as a gateway into India.

In England, where Lord Northbrook had the support of a group who favored a guarantee of aid to the Afghans in case they were attacked, he was unable to enlist the backing of the Conservative Party. Notwithstanding, he continued to stress the need for a clarification of the relative status of British and Russian interests in that section of Asia and urged Parliament to persuade the Afghans to receive a British agent at their court.

But when the new amir of Afghanistan was found to favor the Russians and when a British envoy was refused admission to the country, while a Russian was welcomed, England declared war and sent a British army to invade the land. The British were successful; the old amir fled and left his son to face the enemy and sue for peace. By the terms of the treaty concluded at this time English holdings in India were extended until they reached to the Khyber Pass.

Peace, however, proved to be of short duration, being disrupted by the murder of the new British resident at Kabul. The second British-Afghan War terminated in 1878 when an English-controlled ruler was placed on the Afghan throne. Many prominent natives in India observed that the brief Afghan campaign had cost local taxpayers some £17,000,000.

It was apparent at this same time that the Near East was becoming more and more important as a buffer against European encroachment in Asia. The opening of the Suez Canal increased British interest in Egypt, Palestine, Persia, and Turkey. The Crimean War revealed the desire of England for friendly relations with Turkey, which had a close affiliation with the Moslem element in India, as a safeguard against future difficulties, and an Anglo-Turkish agreement was signed whereby England guaranteed to protect Turkey from invasion in return for the island of Cyprus.

Indian Nationalism Flares

WITH THE INTRODUCTION of European culture into India, which was accompanied by an exodus of students to the great universities in France, Germany, England, and the United States, the intellectual horizon of the young British colony was revolutionized. Students returning home to India brought with them a changed attitude toward English rule; many of them began to ask themselves how long it could last, and the more radical minds started open attacks on British policies in India. They complained that too much wealth was being drained from the country; that its native troops were sent to fight England's battles in Afghanistan and Egypt; that India was forced to pay heavy taxes for wars in which she had no interest, notably the disastrous Sudan campaigns of 1883, in which the British lost heavily, and for which half the cost was borne by India.

Another basic grievance was the fact that more and more demands were made each year on the meager incomes of the lower classes. The result of heavy taxation was especially apparent in years when the crops failed and famine swept over India. In times past each village had hoarded grain against these years of drought but with the burden of new taxation it was impossible to store food ahead. Thus slowly, year after year, the vitality of India was being exhausted.

After the repeal of the unpopular Vernacular, or Black Act, that had restricted the freedom of the native press, students and reformers throughout India aired their views in articles published by local journals. Many of these articles were revolutionary and radical and openly criticized British policy, but advocated some common meeting ground where grievances could be discussed and remedies proposed.

Hindu reformers began to urge their countrymen to return to the mode of life known centuries before, an independent, pastoral existence, the "Golden Age" of India, based on the religion prescribed by the *Vedas*. Others advocated more revolutionary measures as the only salvation of the oppressed millions of peasants living close to the starvation level.

Aware of the growing undercurrent of unrest, resident British officials decided to organize a group of Indian politicians who would meet and discuss with them vital problems pertaining to government. Out of this need arose the National Congress, organized in 1885; the first meeting was attended by seventy Hindus, two Mohammedans, and a group of Englishmen, but it was not long before the National Congress began to attract widespread support and after the termination of the British-Burmese War many new members joined its ranks. Most of them belonged to two classes: the first consisted of young men loyal to the Crown who had been educated along Western lines and realized that India was backward; the other was a revolutionary clique whose members were definitely anti-British. Only a few Moslems joined the Congress during the first decade of its existence, for the ideals of Hindus and Moslems were too far apart to afford a common meeting ground.

For a time the National Congress met each December at one of the provincial capitals, and the gatherings were devoted primarily to a discussion of wider participation in government, the removal of barriers of caste, and the education of women. Its members openly expressed the desire to see India governed less for British capitalists and more for its own taxpayers.

A more active part in local politics was assumed by the National Congress after the Age of Consent Act was passed in 1891, for the measure aroused opposition to British rule in Hindu circles throughout India. The bill, which provided that child marriages could not be consummated until the wife was twelve years old, failed to consider that girls mature early in the Far East and that youthful marriages often took place for religious purposes: to assure an heir to carry on Hindu rites in the household. Hindu members of the National Congress denounced the new act on the ground that it

implied British interference in matters considered sacred by the orthodox and because it disregarded rites which England had guaranteed to protect.

It was now that the word *Swaraj* was first heard. *Swaraj* signified Independence, National Unity, Home Rule for India; it was linked with worship of the Maratha leader, Sivaji, the man who a century earlier had crushed Mohammedanism and restored the Hindu faith throughout large sections of India. Marathas of the Deccan, the homeland of Sivaji, were among its staunch supporters; they were led by Tilak, an educator and journalist of Poona, who rallied a group of young intellectuals around him and began openly to attack the Age of Consent Act. Tilak, a bitter fighter, an ardent reformer, and a prominent member of the National Congress, dedicated his paper, *Kesari* (Lion), to a vigorous anti-British and anti-Moslem campaign, and used as his slogan: "Bring India back to the Hindu faith!"

Innumerable fiery articles, in support of the Sivaji cult, many of them highly dramatic in character, were published in *Kesari*. In one of them Tilak described Sivaji, aroused from a long sleep, looking sadly at the India he had sought to save. Everywhere he saw foreigners draining it of gold and treasure; he saw famine, disease, suffering, and sorrow hovering over the land; he saw Brahmins subjected to every kind of indignity; he saw the barriers of caste fast disappearing. Then he realized that the Englishmen he had once protected, and not the Moslems, were the men who were now plundering India.

Thus Tilak aspired to become a new prophet and leader; he hoped to check British power just as Sivaji before him had crushed Moslem rule. Tilak's leadership had widespread support; Brahmin Marathas rallied to his standards; festivals were organized in his honor; reactionary Hindus began to respond to his magnetic appeal. Within a short time societies organized by Tilak appeared throughout India; offices were even opened in various parts of Europe. Enormous sums were raised for Tilak's cause; bandits pillaged to supply contributions; a series of murders was committed in behalf of *Swaraj*. Instigators of these crimes banded together and formed what was

known as a "Society for the Removal of Obstacles to the Hindu Faith."

The genius of Tilak as an organizer was further apparent when he enlisted thousands of schoolboys and young students in his cause. In Bengal he also launched a Sivaji revival in which a boycott of British goods was urged. Bonfires in which foreign books and clothing were burned were the work of his Bengalese converts. But when 500 rupees was offered for the head of the British governor of Bengal, the government prosecuted Tilak for fomenting trouble and deported him. While he was away his revolutionary paper continued to circulate.

Meanwhile many brilliant Hindus espoused the cause of Tilak. Vivekananda was a prominent member. He had attended the Parliament of Religions at Chicago in 1893 where his impressive figure clad in magnificent gold and orange robes roused universal interest, and in his tours throughout Europe and America he talked freely of the new movement in India and urged a widespread revival of the Hindu faith. From him the world also learned about India's aspirations to nationhood.

Toward the end of the nineteenth century a three-year famine increased unrest in India; it was one of the worst in history, and devastated the leading provinces. While it lasted fifteen million people perished, too weak and undernourished to survive. During the two years that followed the famine even seed for planting was not available.

In Bengal famine was accompanied by an outbreak of bubonic plague. Many natives believed that it was introduced by the British to kill off the excess population. At this time soldiers sent to native homes to enforce sanitary measures were accused of violating Hindu customs; popular indignation against the supposed outrages reached fanatical peaks, and in one instance the British plague commissioner was murdered while on duty.

When Lord Curzon reached Calcutta early in 1899 he faced conditions of the utmost gravity: foreign wars had broken out elsewhere; troops were being rushed to South Africa to participate in the Boer War; relief was being sent to the foreign legation in China besieged

by the Boxer revolutionists; and internal difficulties within India itself were increasing rapidly.

Bengal seethed with the activities of Hindu agitators. At the National Congress held in 1900 at Delhi nationalism won many new recruits; even numerous Parsees and Moslems joined its ranks. As the movement gained strength it grew bolder; its power was strikingly apparent one day when its leader, carrying a copy of the sacred *Vedas* of Hinduism, walked barefoot through the streets followed by a procession of a hundred thousand supporters.

To British residents in India it was obvious that radical changes in government policy were needed to meet the growing threat to English rule. Reorganization and rearming of the army was ordered by Lord Curzon and the police service was considerably enlarged. Educational reforms to appease the natives were proposed and a conference was held at Simla to discuss extending primary instruction throughout India. A Universities Act was also passed; it met with considerable disfavor, however, for the Nationalists considered it an attempt to foster higher learning in the large cities while neglecting primary instruction in the villages.

Another source of discord was the cost of the British administration. Official salaries, the amount spent on the army, pensions, miscellaneous expenses of government, and interest on the national debt, averaged £16,000,000 annually, one fourth of the total revenue of India.

Within a few years the first wave of enthusiasm that had greeted the reforms advocated by Lord Curzon began to subside. Bengalese leaders called him an imperialist and not the protector of India. They complained that his Tibetan venture, when he sent a military force to Lhasa to defeat that insurgent land, had accomplished nothing of permanent value because the mountain kingdom still refused to have anything to do with British India although Russians were welcomed at her capital.

Nor had the recent wars in South Africa and Abyssinia served to enhance England's military reputation. Nationalists insinuated that Great Britain could not fight her wars alone or without men and money from India, and that British drains were so great that trade and

industrial development had been checked to a point where the rupee was diminishing in value.

In view of this criticism Lord Curzon made an extensive tour of the native states in an effort to establish closer bonds with the local rulers; he also invited them to attend the elaborate durbar held at Delhi in January, 1903, when King Edward VII was proclaimed emperor of British India. During the durbar he expounded to them the aims of the British government: to expand industry, increase prosperity, and bring peace and happiness to the masses.

One of the administrative reforms sponsored by Lord Curzon was the division into two units of Bengal, whose eighty million inhabitants were causing him considerable trouble. He then proposed that eastern Bengal and Assam should be amalgamated and western Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa governed together. He believed that partition would be advantageous to western Bengal and would quiet the turbulent elements, especially the Moslems. But the new arrangement led to fresh outbreaks, because it gave Mohammedans numerical superiority in the western province, whereas Hindus wanted Bengal to remain a single strong unit with Calcutta the center of commerce and government.

The partition became a topic of popular discord and when a Nationalist appeal to religion and patriotism was launched, fifty thousand members pledged their allegiance. Not long after, the use of home products was extolled and a new boycott of foreign goods urged. Riots broke out; secret societies were organized to collect arms and manufacture bombs. Newspapers, periodicals, and pamphlets preached violence and revolt from British rule.

Again the storm center of the revolutionary group was Bengal; throughout the province the word *Swaraj* became the slogan of the reformers. Mass meetings were held at regular intervals in the famous temple of Kali in Calcutta; thousands swore before the shrine of the Black Mother to purge India of foreigners: the voice of the great goddess had been heard clamoring for the blood of "white goats."

Before long, opposition to British rule took the form of open revolt. In Calcutta bombs were thrown at British residents and two Englishwomen killed. An attempt was made to blow up a train carry-

ing the lieutenant-governor. Tilak preached that bombs explode when repressive actions of government become intolerable, that bombs were justified by the teachings of the diety Siva, the destroyer, who killed for religious motives. He praised the deeds of Russian anarchists as the work of patriots.

In the Punjab the revolutionary spirit was reflected in the increasing number of agitators spreading anti-English propaganda. Lahore became a center of sedition, and although one of its popular lawyers, Lajput Rai, was arrested and deported for fomenting revolt, yet a stream of anti-foreign literature still poured from the Punjab capital. Seeds of unrest also were spread among the hill tribes and attempts made to incite the native soldiers serving in the British army to mutiny.

Meanwhile an India House was opened in London by a noted revolutionalist, Krishnavarama, who published a radical bulletin, *The Indian Sociologist*, which openly justified murder. India House was the center of many conspiracies; it was there that books describing the Indian mutiny were read aloud to incite crime and lectures delivered on how to make bombs. Ultimately its activities became so notorious that its leader, Krishnavarama, left for Paris to avoid arrest.

Until this time Parliament had not concerned itself to any extent with the domestic problems of India, but it now passed a drastic Press Act which authorized the confiscation of all printing presses guilty of issuing seditious literature.

In the fifty years that had gone by since the mutiny, England had introduced many reforms into India: nearly 30,000 miles of railways had been built; canals, roads, and modern machinery had contributed to her prosperity; coal mines had been opened in Bengal and mining developed in southern India; cotton mills in Bombay and jute mills in Calcutta had been put into operation. Now, in these critical years, more reforms were proposed and carried out, for British officials realized the need of continuing to pacify the restless element in India. In 1911 during a durbar held at Delhi for King George and Queen Mary three announcements were made: the partition of Bengal which had caused so much displeasure was revoked; Bihar and Orissa were placed under separate rulers; Delhi was proclaimed the

official capital of British India. Although Hindus welcomed the edicts, Moslems were not pleased with the new order in Bengal.

More antforeign demonstrations took place; a bomb was thrown at the viceroy and his wife, Lord and Lady Hardinge, inflicting serious injuries. This was followed by more demonstrations against foreigners on the part of the Bengal Sikhs, who had a large following in the United States and Canada, especially among Indian students studying at schools and universities. In 1914 a ship carrying four hundred Sikhs provided with revolutionary literature reached Vancouver from Bengal; the vessel was turned back for failure to comply with entrance regulations, and the men deported to Bengal where they joined their radical countrymen.

After the First World War broke out, revolutionists returning from North America concentrated their activities in Bengal; a conspiracy of Germans and Bengalese was uncovered which planned to send German ships to India, start an uprising, and seize Calcutta and the Bombay-Calcutta railroad; German ships dispatched to India with guns and ammunition were intercepted and turned back; and secret German plans to invade Burma by way of Siam checked. It was known, too, that revolutionists backed by German capital were moving east by way of Persia and Afghanistan.

For several years the great conflict diverted British interest from Asia to the battlefields of Europe. The war proved costly for India, draining her of men, supplies, and funds which were poured into the Near East, France, and England. A million natives who fought shoulder to shoulder with British troops in Egypt, the Sudan, Palestine, Mesopotamia, and France were sent to the aid of the Allied forces.

Despite the war, propaganda preaching Home Rule continued to circulate in India. To check it, a Defense of India Act was passed in England which provided that persons considered dangerous to the country could be arrested and deported without trial. The measure was widely condemned throughout India.

In 1916 an important meeting of the National Congress was held at Lucknow. At the time popular enthusiasm over the reappearance of Tilak, who had been released from jail, reached tremendous peaks.

His zeal for achieving *Swaraj* appeared to be unchecked, for he preached his old doctrine of power through force. That year the All-Moslem League, which had been formed in 1907 to protect the rights of Mohammedans in India and Turkey, joined the National Congress in its fight for Home Rule. That year, too, a new figure appeared on the congressional platform, a gray-haired theosophist, Mrs. Annie Besant, who espoused the cause of Home Rule with such fervor that she was forced to serve a short jail sentence for seditious utterances. *New India*, to which she was a heavy contributor, reached readers throughout Europe, Asia, and North America.

Another magnetic personality, Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, who had been away organizing medical relief work for the British forces in Africa, attended the same Lucknow gathering. Gandhi, who was now in his prime, was born in 1869 at Gujarat, north of Bombay, where his father, a middle-class Hindu, was tax collector in a small native state. Gandhi had been trained for the law in England. In Africa he had seen Europeans mistreating native laborers who were working on plantations at low wages, and the experience made him distrust the white race. As he began to question the moral right of England to rule India, the platform of the National Congress aroused his patriotic interest and he became one of its most ardent supporters.

His ideas differed radically from those of Tilak, for he believed in furthering the cause of Home Rule through loyalty and allegiance to England. These aims, he maintained, should be accomplished by pacific measures. His creed drew many supporters; rallying around his spiritual leadership as men had once rallied around the Buddha, they called him Mahatma, the Great One.

This Hindu leader knew the needs of his countrymen; he knew that India with a population of more than 320,000,000, where twenty languages and dialects were spoken, was too vast to be welded together under one autocratic government. He recognized, too, that for centuries barriers of religion, caste, and tongue had kept the inhabitants of India apart, and that these were barriers England was powerless to break; that his land was an agricultural country, one in which 90 per cent of the people were illiterate peasants.

Thus Gandhi advocated a return to the old forms of village life in which each small hamlet was self-supporting, and where the elders sat in council night after night under a sacred tree to discuss local problems, to dispense justice, and to make plans to store crops against famine, market goods, and provide education. He believed that with a revival of this mode of life widows and orphans would be protected, the sick and needy would have aid and shelter, and men would own their homes and supply their daily needs with the labor of their own hands.

He believed, furthermore, that Western ways were unsuited to India. In the West he saw pledges and treaties abandoned and broken and humanitarianism and Christianity disappearing before capitalism and imperialism everywhere. He was convinced that the West was dying from hate and greed and war.

Gandhi hoped to bring back to India a peace based on religion, humanitarianism, and tolerance. The Hinduism he taught did not include what the West termed progress, or aspirations to conquer or rule other races. It did not share the Western craze for material comforts, or for wealth. Of what value were such things in a world dominated by *karma*, the spiritual force of Hindu India? In 1916 Gandhi urged the National Congress to pass a resolution asking England to guarantee that self-government would be granted India after the war. The crown evaded the issue, but the Mahatma's teachings continued unabated.

A year after the Lucknow Congress, when Lloyd George handed the portfolio of India to Edward S. Montagu, he said: "The policy of His Majesty's government is that of increasing the association of Indians in every branch of the administration and the gradual development of self-governing institutions in India." The needs of India, he promised, would be discussed after the war.

When Montagu reached India he toured the provinces with the viceroy and two native officials, visiting Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi, and Madras, where he interviewed princes and peasants, landlords and ryots, teachers and students. Thus he learned that the natives thought India should be allowed to develop her own resources and allowed to trade without restraint, and that in this way they could

raise their own standards of living and ultimately extend the benefits of education to the masses. They also desired a more active part in government and the right to decide when more taxes should be levied.

Montagu returned from his provincial tour confident that the undercurrent of unrest in India was reaching a crisis. He saw that the germs of Home Rule were spreading to the masses; that their condition was shocking and deplorable; that economic misery was widespread; that women were still in bondage; that freedom such as the West knew did not exist in India. A spirit of revolt was in the air; many natives believed that Bolshevism might cross the Himalayas into India, for it was already moving toward China.

A year later Montagu returned to England and published a voluminous report on India, a document that had the support of the National Congress. It gave a thorough and honest survey of conditions as he found them, with recommendations for their improvement.

The Great Unsolved Problem

NEW OUTBREAKS IN India accompanied the end of the First World War. The war had cost Britain's colony £240,000,000 and raised her national debt to unprecedented heights. Inflation, its aftermath, raised the prices of grain, salt, oil, and cloth; as a result economic misery increased, reaching a crisis when the influenza epidemic of 1918 claimed 12,500,000 lives.

A month after the armistice was signed, the National Congress and the Moslem League met in Delhi and made fervent appeals to force England to enact new alleviatory laws. Requests were made for the repeal of the obnoxious Press Act and for a wider share in home government. Because peace terms had robbed the sultan of Turkey of his age-old spiritual power, the Moslems presented their demands to the Delhi congress that he be made the caliph of the holy places in the Near East. It was noticeable at the time that Moslem influence was increasing in India, that large numbers of them were supporting the National group, and that even Gandhi sympathized with their aims and described them as a splendid manifestation of religious faith, one that might well be enlisted in the cause of Hindu India.

Inasmuch as the Defense of India Act had automatically expired with the termination of war, new laws were needed to replace it, especially one directed against incipient revolutions. The first bill passed by Parliament was a protective measure for emergency use only and was known as the Rowlatt Act. It was sponsored by Justice Sidney A. T. Rowlatt, the head of a committee to investigate political crimes in Bengal, who believed that stringent legislation to prevent and punish conspiracy and sedition would check the revolutionists.

The salient features of this measure were arrest without warrant, indefinite detention without trial, and a proviso that proceedings were to be held in secret and that the accused would not be allowed to employ a lawyer.

Opposition to the Rowlatt Act was expressed both by Moslems and by Hindus. In the riots that followed, mobs attacked and burned telegraph systems and banks; a few Europeans and many natives were injured and killed. All over India a national day of protest was ordered, to be devoted to fasting, prayers, and meetings held in places of worship, an occasion when stores and shops closed their doors. Although Gandhi urged passive resistance, the mobs, led by the revolutionists, resorted to violence and terrorism. The British retaliated by a proclamation that forbade public gatherings of all kinds.

The deportation of two of the ringleaders was followed by more riots at Amritsar, during which fires were started, houses burned, and telephone wires leading out of the city cut. Several Europeans were murdered and so grave was the danger that women and children were rushed for safety to the fort. A second Indian mutiny seemed imminent, and two days later martial law was declared.

Although public meetings had been officially banned, a crowd of some 6,000 natives gathered in the Amritsar Square; in order to disband them General Reginald E. H. Dyer, who commanded the local British troops, ordered them to fire on the mob. About four hundred persons were killed and more than a thousand wounded. Countless students and professors were also arrested; hundreds of citizens were flogged in public; bombs were dropped from the air; before they were thrown into prison, natives were forced to crawl down a street where a British resident had been shot; and military punishment was inflicted on many innocent onlookers. Several months later Dyer, who believed that drastic measures were imperative to prevent such uprisings, was strongly condemned in England for his conduct; he was deprived of his commission and retired on a pension.

Meanwhile, the poet Rabindranath Tagore, indignant at the extent of British redress, returned the emblem of knighthood that had been conferred on him by England, while Gandhi sent back the

decorations he had received for services rendered in Africa during the war.

Gandhi branded Western civilization as degenerate and exhorted his people to shun all innovations of Western science and return to spinning wheels and homespun garments. The Hindu leader toured outlying sections of the country to urge the people to resist tyranny and to unite and fight for liberty. The masses responded to his appeal; towns and hamlets all over India formed groups pledged to his support and to destroy British merchandise in protest against English rule.

Soon the government in London recognized in the revered Mahatma a dangerous enemy, a fanatical nationalist who could recruit millions of followers from the peasantry and who had the support of even the extreme radicals. It was the more cognizant of his influence when the Prince of Wales visited India in 1921 and was greeted by black banners hung in the streets of Delhi, while the people themselves remained indoors and stores and bazaars were closed. Gandhi was suspected of instigating this inhospitable reception, and was arrested a few months later, tried for sedition, and sentenced to six years in jail.

Approximately eight months after the Amritsar outbreak the long-anticipated Government of India Bill was passed. The more moderate group sent a resolution expressing gratitude to England, but the extremists were dissatisfied. The bill introduced many drastic changes in the government and administration of the British colony. An Indian parliament, consisting of a council of state with 58 members and a legislative assembly with 141, more than half of whom were to be elected by the people, was created with power to make laws for all subjects of His Majesty. Provincial assemblies also were assured of an elected majority; the viceroy's executive council was increased to include three natives; direct electorates were provided; the franchise was extended so that 6,000,000 Indians could now vote in place of a few thousand; and the local budget was to be submitted to the local parliament.

Notwithstanding, Gandhi renewed his efforts; *Swaraj*, he believed, was not yet in sight. In his new crusade he was assisted by

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, a vigorous and influential leader. Such was his success that he gained control of the National Congress a year later, then launched his nonco-operative movement and began to enlist the laboring classes in his cause. The imprisonment of the Hindu leader removed for a time the most prominent member of the *Swaraj* party.

Meanwhile new political ideals began to appear, as the work of the League of Nations assumed world-wide importance. Plans were laid to ban war from the world and to assure to oppressed nations humanitarian treatment. But Wilsonian idealism faded into the background when the economic reaction that followed the World War left central Europe almost destitute. The growth of Communism, Fascism, and Nazism in Russia, Italy, and Germany created new ideologies based on force and bloodshed.

India continued her pacific war to achieve *Swaraj*. When released from prison in 1924, Gandhi strengthened his social program. Non-co-operation continued as its password; the symbolic white Gandhi cap was adopted; Hindu and Moslem unity was preached; abolition of the caste system as it affected the Untouchables, some fifty million outcasts, was advocated; and recognition of the equality of the sexes was recommended. At this same time Gandhi also urged a nation-wide boycott on all English goods imported into India.

Under the leadership of the Mahatma, membership in the Nationalist party had increased to 500,000; the group was growing more and more aggressive in its demands. At a meeting held at Calcutta late in 1928 Gandhi announced that unless dominion status was granted by the beginning of 1930, placing India on the basis of Canada, South Africa, and New Zealand, he would launch a movement for complete independence.

Twelve months passed and no action was taken by England. In the spring Gandhi told his followers that he would march to the sea and make salt, in protest against the burdensome law prohibiting its manufacture, and that he would demand free salt for the poor, who could not afford to purchase it because it was so heavily taxed. One hundred thousand natives signified their approval and accompanied him on his spectacular march to the sea.

At a round-table conference called soon after by the British government, the salt tax was discussed, as well as many other grievances presented by the Nationalist leaders. They told the Crown officials they considered that the India public service was unfair because Englishmen were paid more than native officials for the same services; that many offices were not open to them; that one-fourth of India's revenue went to support the British government; that economic exploitation of the natural wealth of their land was solely for the benefit of Great Britain.

When the Crown did not attempt to remedy these grievances, Gandhi decided, in place of revolutionary tactics, to adopt again his old policy of passive resistance based on spiritual revolt. He announced he would feed and employ India's millions and would give them decent standards of living. He knew that only by widespread internal organization and patient work could this be accomplished and England forced to recognize the poverty, disease, and famine from which his people suffered.

Attempts at reform were abruptly checked by the outbreak of the Second World War. Native princes and other leaders rallied to support the British cause, and after some discussion the Moslem League, the second largest political party in India, agreed to endorse the British proposal, made in the fall of 1939, to defer discussion of Home Rule until after the war. Gandhi and Nehru, with their enormous Hindu following, refused to make the same guarantee, but asked England for "a direct declaration to free India from bondage" as the price of Hindu participation. Again Whitehall refused to commit itself, and eight of the eleven provincial governments dominated by Hindu voters resigned in protest. The remaining seven were immediately placed in charge of British provincial leaders acting under emergency powers.

Notwithstanding the burdens entailed by World War II, the British Cabinet made the native leaders in India certain new proposals to be carried out after the war. They were taken to India by Sir Stafford Cripps who reached New Delhi in the spring of 1942 and on March 30 conferred with the leaders of rival political parties to whom he read the following message:

"First of all you will want to know what object we had in view. . . . The British government and the British people desire the Indian peoples to have full self-government with a constitution as free in every respect as our own in Great Britain . . . India would be associated with the United Kingdom and the other Dominions by a common allegiance to the Crown, and equal to them in every respect, and never a subordinate in any respect in her domestic or internal affairs. . . .

"The principle on which these provisions are based is that the new constitution should be framed by the elected representatives of the Indian peoples themselves, so we propose that immediately hostilities are ended a constitution-making body should be set up under the system of elected representatives from British India, and if the Indian States wish, as we hope they will, to become part of the new Indian Union, they, too, will be invited to send their representatives to this constitution-making body, though if they do, that itself will not bind them to become members of the Union. . . .

"We ask you, therefore, to come together, all religions and races. . . . We hope and expect to see an Indian Union, strong and united because it is founded upon the free consent of all its people. But it is not for us Britishers to dictate to you, the Indian people. You will work out and decide your problems for yourselves."

Cripps then offered as an intermediate program for the duration of the war full control of the Executive Council with the exception of the office of commander-in-chief. Although India would thus be governed by its own leaders until such a time as a constitution-making body had completed its work, the proposal was not acceptable to the various parties and so was withdrawn. Disagreement centered around the clause allowing native states to withdraw and set up independent governments, thus defeating the purpose of a united India.

The failure of the Cripps mission to India revealed once more the depth of the internal conflict between political parties, notably the Moslem and Hindu groups, in India.

New proposals made by Viscount Wavell, viceroy of India, are now under consideration in India; these, the British Cabinet believes, may bring into closer unity the aims and desires of Moslems and

Hindus by giving them equal representation in the Executive Council.

With the defeat of Germany by the Allies in the spring of 1945, the need to solve the basic problems causing unrest in India assumed new importance in England. Acting upon the advice of Field Marshal Wavell, the British Government proposed that changes be introduced in the Viceroy's Executive Council and that "the Viceroy should make his selection for nomination to the Crown for appointment to his Executive from among the leaders of Indian political life in proportions which would give a balanced representation of the main communities, including equal proportions of Moslems and caste Hindus."

Thus, members of the Executive Council would be Indians, with the exception of the Viceroy and the Commander in Chief, who would retain his position until the end of the war with Japan.

Another major change advocated by the British Government was that all "external affairs (other than those tribal and frontier matters which fall to be dealt with as part of the defense of India) should be placed in charge of an Indian member of the Viceroy's Executive so far as British India is concerned and that fully credited representatives shall be appointed for the representation of India abroad."

Obviously the success or failure of the new proposals rests not on England but on the willingness and ability of the various Indian leaders to cooperate and work together for the better government of India, on the attitude of the most radical Hindu elements who stress primarily self government, and on the Moslems who fear a preponderance of Hindus in power.

Today India's problems are among the most vital of the century. If England does not accede to Hindu demands, will eighty million Moslems join their countrymen in a campaign for Home Rule after the war? Will India gain complete independence or will she be satisfied with wider powers leading to dominion status? The fate of the Hindu-Moslem barrier that has stood so long at the crossroads of the world is now at stake. The struggle of India, buffeted by British imperialism, swayed by international currents, submerged in a Hindu-Moslem world of her own creation, is one of the most dramatic and tragic problems known to history.

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Appendix

With the exception of the list of Governors-General, the documents in this appendix have been transcribed literally from photographic copies of the originals.

ORIGIN OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY

• • • • •

"The Names of such persons as have written with their own hands, to venture, in the pretended voyage to the East Indies (the which it may please the Lord to prosper) and the sums that they will adventure; the XXII September 1599"

A

Aldworth Richard	£	200	" "
Adderley W.m and Tho.s Henshaw		300	" "

B

Bayning Paul Alderman	1000	" "
Barnsley Nich.s Grocer	150	" "
Browne & Co. Rich.d	500	" "
Bell Rob.t & J.no Potter	200	" "
Bostock Tho.s and J.no Ramridge	200	" "
Busbridge J.no & Jas Turner	200	" "
Babbington Uriah	200	" "
Barrell & Co Rich.d Grocer	200	" "
Backhouse Row.ld & Bartholemew & E.d Barnes	400	" "
Bridgman Hen.y Leather seller	200	" "
Barrell W.m & Walter Porter	400	" "
Busbie Ralph Grocer	200	" "
Barrett Rich.d & W.m Allen Merch.t	200	" "

C

Cox Robert Grocer	250	" "
Collins Edward Clothworker	200	" "
Cherie Fran.s Vintner	200	" "
Cockain & Co. Rich.d	3000	" "
Chambers W.m & W.m Steane	500	" "

Cambell Tho.s & Miles Huberd	200	"	"
Cock Rich.d Grocer	200	"	"
Cordell Tho.s Merchant	300	"	"
Cutteler Tho.s Grocer	200	"	"
Crisp & Co. Nich.s	200	"	"
Cornelis J.no Goldsmith	200	"	"
Coghill J.no & Henry Parkhurst	200	"	"
Cowy J.no Notary	200	"	"
Coombe J.no	200	"	"

D

Dale W.m	100	"	"
Deane Ja.s Draper	300	"	"
Doncomb Giles & Rich.d Wilby	200	"	"

E

Eldred J.no	400	"	"
Edwards Tho.s	200	"	"
Eaton Tho.s & W.m Essington	200	"	"

F

Farrer Nich.s Skinner	200	"	"
Farrington Tho.s Vintner	200	"	"
Freeman W.m & Ralph	300	"	"
Fletcher Walter	200	"	"

G

Goddard Rich.d Alderman	200	"	"
Garaway Tho.s Draper	200	"	"
Garway W.m Do.	500	"	"
Greene Law.nce	200	"	"
Gore W.m & J.no	300	"	"

H

Harte Sr J.no & Geo. Boales	1000	"	"
Halliday Leon.d Alderman	1000	"	"
Holmdon Edw. Do.	500	"	"

Hampson Rob.t Do.	300	"	"
Holman Geo. Grocer	150	"	"
Hinocke Tho.s	100	"	"
Hick Bapt.st Mercer	400	"	"
Hamer Ralph Merchant Tailor	200	"	"
Highlord J.no & J.no Morris	200	"	"
Howse Rich.d & Hen.y Robinson	200	"	"
Howe Roger	200	"	"
Harrison W.m & W.m Bond Merchant Tailors	200	"	"
Hewett J.no	333	6	8
Halliday W.m Merch.t & J.no Duckett	200	"	"
Hines Tho.s, Rob.t Barclay, & Mat.hw Hammond.....	300	"	"
Harbie J.no Skinner	200	"	"

J

Jaymes E.d	200	"	"
Juxon Tho.s Grocer	200	"	"

L

Leatt Nich.ls Ironmonger	200	"	"
Linge Nich.ls	100	"	"
Lee Robert Alderman	300	"	"

M

Mosley Nich.ls Alderman	300	"	"
Moore J.no Do.	300	"	"
Middleton Tho.s & Rob.t & Rob.t Bateman.....	500	"	"
Mosley Clement & Jerome Singer	250	"	"

N

Newman J.no & Reinold Greene	200	"	"
Nicholson Edm.d Grocer	200	"	"

O

Orfield Roger	300	"	"
Osseley W.m The elder	200	"	"

P

Pearde Nich.s Clothworker	100 " "
Paul W.m & Geo.g Canynge	300 " "
Poalsted Hen.y & Geo.g Whitmore	200 " "

R

Romney W.m	200 " "
Robinson J.no Sen.r Merchant Tailor	200 " "

S

Seame Sir Stephen Lord Mayor of London	200 " "
Seame Sir Stephen & Rich.d Carter & Co.	400 " "
Spencer Sir John	800 " "
Staper Rich.d	500 " "
Symonds Tho.s	200 " "
Sandye Rob.t Grocer	200 " "
Style Nich.ls Do.	200 " "
Style Oliver Do.	300 " "
Stephens Rich.d	200 " "
Smithe Tho.s Haberdasher	200 " "
Skynner Augustine, Rob. Brooke & Tho.s Westray	300 " "
Saltonstall Sir Rich.d & his Children	200 " "
Saynnerton J.no Jun.r	300 " "
Surem J.no & Sam.e Garrard	200 " "

T

Terrell Fran.cs	200 " "
Turner W.m & Edw	200 " "

W

Wyche Rich & Jas	200 " "
Wragge Rich.d	200 " "
Woodward J.no Irenmonger	300 " "
Wheeler Tho.s & Law.ce Wethrall	200 " "
White Leonard	200 " "
Wiseman Rich.d Goldsmith	200 " "
Wymers Hen.y & Rich.d Edmonds	200 " "

101 Subscriptions

Amount £30133.6.8

"An Assembly of the persons hereunder named holden the 24th of September 1599."

Aldworth Rich.d

Bayning Alder.mn

Brownie Rich.d

Bell Rob.t

Busbridge J.no

Bostock Tho.s

Babington Uriah

Backhouse R.

Cox Robert

Collins Edw.d

Cherie Fran.cs

Cockain Rich.d

Cockain W.m

Chambers W.m

Cambell Tho.s

Cock Rich.d

Crisp Nich.s

Cornelis J.no

Eldred J.no

Edwards Tho.s

Farrer Nich.s

Farrington Tho.s

Freeman W.m

Freeman Ralph

Fletcher Walter

Goddard Ald.mn

Greene R.

Hart Sir J.no K.t

Halliday Ald.mn

Highlord J.no

Holman Geo.

Hinocke Tho.s

Hick, Bap.tst

Henshawe Tho.s

Howse Rich.d

Howe Roger

Hines Tho.s

Leatt Nich.s

Linge Nich.s

Mosley Ald.mn

Middleton Tho.s

Middleton Rob.t

Mossley Clem.t

Pearde Nich.ls

Romney W.m

Robinson H.

Stone A.

Symonds Tho.s

Sandye Rob.t

Style Nich.ls

Skynner Au.stn

Stephens Rich.d

Turner W.m

Wiseman Rich.d

Wyche Rich.d

Wheeler Tho.s

White Leon.d

"Whereas the several persons above named, together with divers others whose names are registered in the beginning of this book; by the sufferance of Almighty God, and after royal assent of our Sovereign Lady the Queen's most excellent Majesty first thereunto had and obtained do intend, for the honour of our native Country, and for the advancement of trade of merchandise within this realm of England, upon their several adventures according to the several proportions of the sums of money by them severally set down and registered under their own hands, to set forth a voyage this present year to the East Indies, and other the Islands and countries thereabouts, and then to make trade by the sale of such commodities as upon further deliberation shall be resolved to be provided for those parts, or otherwise by buying or bartering such goods, wares, jewels, or merchandise, as those Islands or countries may yield, or afford: And for the better ordering and disposing of the said voyage intended, and for the encouragement of all such as have already determined to adventure in the same, or shall before the voyage set forth, determine to adventure therein, they have thought it meet to direct themselves by certain rules and orders to be holden and observed, as well in the preparing of such shipping as shall be thought fit for this enterprise, as of all other provision of wares, merchandize, bullion, and such other things as are to be provided and adventured in the same, and therefore at this assembly it is agreed ordained, and resolved as followeth.

That no ship shall be received to be brought in by any adventurer in this voyage to be employed in the same as his stock or portion of adventure at any rate whatsoever.

Also that all shipping to be employed in this voyage shall be bought and provided by such as shall be thereto appointed for ready money only.

That no commodity shall be accepted in the said voyage to be bought in as any man's portion of adventure but that all goods, wares, and other things as shall be bought and prepared by such as shall be thereto appointed as Committees and Directors of the said Voyage for the buying and producing of shipping and merchandise.

And this assembly do elect and appoint these 15 persons hereunder named Committees or Directors of this voyage to manage order and direct the affairs belonging to the same as well concerning suit to be made to her Majesty for sole privileges to be granted to these adventurers for so many years as can be obtained, and for such freedoms of

custom, and other tolerations and favours as may be gotten, as also for the providing of shipping, wares and merchandise, to be adventured in the said voyage, ratifying and allowing whatsoever the said Committees or Directors of the said voyage, or the greater number of them shall do or agree upon in the premises; provided nevertheless that no factor or other officer to be employed in the voyage shall be admitted or appointed thereto but by a general assembly of the adventurers, and these elected by the consent of the greater number of them assembled.

Mr. Ald.mn Goddard	Th.os Middleton	Nich.s Ling
——— Moore	Th.os Cambell	Rich.d Wiche
Mr. Rich.d Staper	Rich.d Wiseman	Rog.r Howe
" Thos Cordell	Thos Symonds	W.m Cockain
" Wm. Garway	Nich.s Style	Nich.s Leat

And the said assembly have chosen for their Treasurers for the receiving and paying of the monies employed in the service Mr. J.no Highlord and Mr. W.m Rumney unto whose hands the contribution of every several adventurer in the voyage is to be brought in at two several payments viz the first payment by the of Nov. and the second payment by the of December.

It is resolved at this assembly that from hencforth no adventurer in this voyage shall be received to adventure in the same for a less sum thⁿ £200.

And it is generally greed that there shall be brought into the hands of the Treasurer with all expedition for the defraying of some present petty charges that shall be expended in the affairs of the said voyage XII£ upon every £100 set down, and to be set down upon every man's portion of adventure, to be collected by him that warneth the adventurers to their assemblies, or otherwise to be brought in by themselves to the Treasurers.

SERVANTS

TREASURERS.	{	Mr. John Highlord
	{	Mr. W.m Romney

NECESSARY EXPENCE OF FITTING OUT A LAD FOR THE EAST INDIAS

	£	s.	p.
Paid the Captain	105.	0.	0.
A Sea Chest	1.	1.	0.
A Case for Bottles	0.	12.	0.
Sea Charts et Stationary ware	5.	0.	0.
Pd. at the Slop Shop for Beding trowsets	8.	0.	0.
14 of a hundred of Castle Soap	1.	4.	6.
Books of amusement et Instructions	3.	0.	0.
Hadleys Quadrant	2.	12.	6.
10 Checque Shirts	5.	10.	0.
2 Velvet Jockey Claps	1.	1.	0.
2 Wigs	1.	5.	0.
Expence of Cloaths	10.	10.	0.
Paid him in Cash	20.	0.	0.
	<hr/> £164.16		

GOVERNORS-GENERAL

1773	WARREN HASTINGS
1786	LORD CORNWALLIS
1793	SIR JOHN SHORE (<i>Interim</i>)
1798	LORD MORNINGTON
1805	LORD CORNWALLIS
1805	SIR GEORGE BARLOW (<i>Interim</i>)
1807	LORD MINTO
1813	LORD MOIRA
1823	LORD AMHERST
1828	LORD CAVENDISH-BENTINCK
1836	LORD AUCKLAND
1842	LORD ELLENBOROUGH
1844	SIR HENRY HARDINGE
1848	LORD DALHOUSIE
1856	LORD CANNING

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